

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

African students speak out

End Portugal's colonial wars!



People of liberated Guinea-Bissau. For reports from Portugal, see pages 5-7.

SWP challenges new laws

Why campaign 'reform' schemes are a fraud/14



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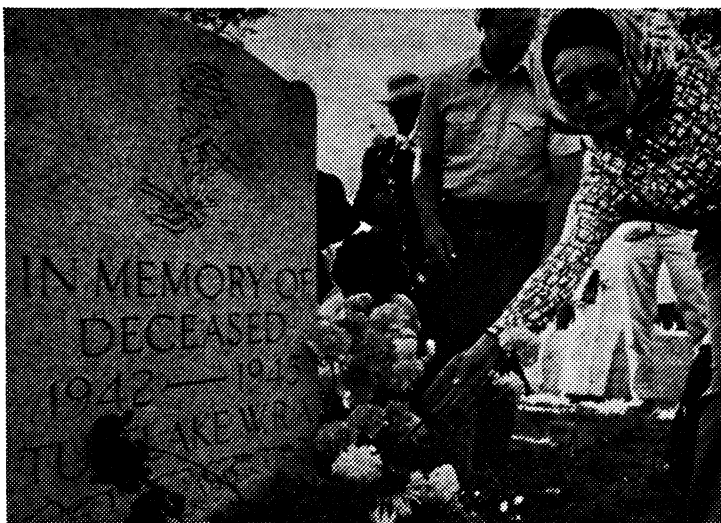
COMMUNITY SPEAKOUT TO SAVE HAITIAN REFUGEES: Since September 1973, more than 400 Haitians fleeing the dictatorship of Jean-Claude Duvalier have sought asylum in the United States. Instead of granting asylum, the U. S. government has imprisoned them, denied them work permits, and threatened them with deportation to Haiti, where they face jail, torture, and even death.

The Ad Hoc Committee for the Defense of Haitian Refugees and the Haitian Fathers have organized a community speakout to publicize the plight of Haitian refugees and mobilize support in the Black community for their right to asylum. The meeting will take place in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, N.Y., at Public School 3 (50 Jefferson Ave.), 7:30 p.m., June 21.

Speakers will include Haitian refugees and Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm.

For more information about the speakout call the Haitian Fathers at (212) 491-6580.

U. S. CONCENTRATION CAMP REVISITED: Used now as chicken coops, the few remaining barracks in the small town of Newell, Calif., are what still stands of an American concentration camp. On Memorial Day, as Nixon and other capitalist warmongers were hypocritically "honoring" war dead, 200 Japanese-Americans returned to the



Tule Lake Relocation Center at Newell to honor the victims of the wartime racist hysteria.

Following Pearl Harbor, the "liberal" President Franklin Roosevelt issued an executive order giving the go-ahead for the "relocation" of all people of Japanese ancestry living within 200 miles of the West Coast. Eventually, more than 100,000 people were herded into the concentration camps. Not more than a tenth of their confiscated property, worth \$400-million, was ever returned to them.

This action of the government—and its even more devastating use of nuclear weapons against the Japanese—are a reminder of the thoroughly racist character of the U. S. ruling class.

JAMES EARL RAY TO GET HEARING: James Earl Ray is serving a 99-year sentence in Tennessee for the murder of Martin Luther King, which he pleaded guilty to in March 1969.

Now, Ray is seeking to change his plea and obtain a retrial. In his petition for a writ of habeas corpus, Ray says that he was pressured by his lawyer, Percy Foreman, to plead guilty so Foreman could make profit from a book about the case. Overruling a federal judge who had dismissed Ray's petition, the U. S. Circuit Court in Cincinnati ordered a hearing on the case. On June 3 the U. S. Supreme Court refused to review the circuit court decision, letting it stand.

The appeals court said the record of the case "reeks with ethical, moral, and professional irregularities, demanding a full-scale judicial inquiry."

The case reeks of something else as well—a government attempt to cover up the facts about the King assassination. FBI memos on its "counterintelligence" program against the Black liberation movement state that the FBI was out to prevent the appearance of a Black "messiah." This—together with the tight FBI surveillance of King, and Ray's statement that he did not act alone—strongly point to government complicity in the assassination.

For this reason, above all others, the case should be reopened. Reverend Jesse Jackson spoke for many Black people when he recently said, "We believe it was a conspiracy, and we believe the trial should be reopened so all evidence can come onto the table."

DEMOCRATS CHALLENGE RAZA UNIDA: District Court Judge Ernest Belcher in Uvalde, Texas, issued a ruling May 29 that unseated Rudolfo Espinosa, who had

been elected constable of Zavala County on the Raza Unida Party ticket in November 1972. In the same ruling, Belcher threw out challenges against Raza Unida officeholders Jose Serna, sheriff of Zavala County; Rey Perez, county attorney; and Elena Diaz, county commissioner.

The election was originally challenged by Democrats and the ballots impounded in 1972, but the case went to trial only a few weeks ago. The county seat of Zavala County is Crystal City—the birthplace of the Texas Raza Unida Party and a stronghold of the Chicano party.

Belcher's decision means that Anglo Democrat Cecil Holt has been declared elected to the post of Zavala County constable. Espinosa won the election by nine votes in 1972, but Belcher ruled 11 of his votes invalid because they were cast by "illegal aliens," felons, or involved improper signatures.

Carlos Reyes, a Crystal City Raza Unida supporter, told The Militant that despite the ruling in the Espinosa case, Raza Unida activists and supporters in Zavala County and Crystal City view the decision upholding the election of three of their candidates as a victory. Hundreds of people attended the week-and-a-half-long trial to show their support for Raza Unida.

NOW CONVENTION: Sixteen hundred women and a few men attended the seventh annual National Organization for Women (NOW) convention in Houston, Texas, May 25 to May 27.

The NOW delegates adopted resolutions to fight right-wing attacks against the right to abortion, to campaign for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, and to continue to struggle against sex discrimination on the job. On this latter point, NOW voted to take action against Sears, the country's largest retail corporation, for its continued disregard of equal employment opportunity laws.

The convention elected Karen DeCrow, a lawyer from Syracuse, N.Y., as president of NOW, and Judy Lightfoot from Decatur, Ga., as Chair-One of its board.

L.A. RALLY HELD TO PROTEST POLICE ATTACK ON SLA: Two hundred and fifty people attended a rally in Slauson Park to protest the Los Angeles police department and FBI assault on the alleged hideout of the Symbionese Liberation Army May 17. The park is in the Black community, one block from the houses destroyed in the assault.

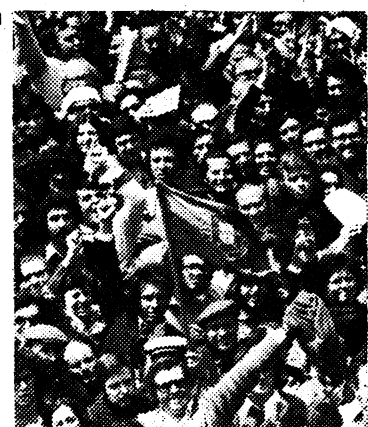
The rally was sponsored by an ad hoc group composed of religious, Black community, and radical organizations. Reverend Edgar Edwards, minister of the Immanuel Church of Christ, chaired the rally.

One of the speakers at the rally was Laura Moorhead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for attorney general of California. She urged the formation of an independent commission of inquiry to investigate the brutal role of the cops in the assault. Moorhead also called for the immediate abolition of SWAT, which is a police-terror unit whose name comes from its use of "special weapons and tactics." This unit spearheaded the May 17 attack.

—NORMAN OLIVER

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House impeachment panel keeps lid on gov't plots against Blacks & socialists

By CINDY JAQUITH

Leaks to the news media from members of the House Judiciary Committee add new weight to the charge that Nixon never rescinded the 1970 Huston spy plan, as he has claimed. According to the June 7 *New York Times*, "Committee members said that they had no evidence to support the White House contention that the plan was abandoned after five days."

The committee's impeachment inquiry turned to the field of domestic intelligence on June 6. As with all its hearings up to this point, details of the investigation of domestic intelligence are being kept secret. The topics under examination are said to include the Huston plan; White House spying and wiretapping against reporters and government officials; the "plumbers"; the Ellsberg burglary; the relationship of the "plumbers" to former ITT lobbyist Dita Beard; and White House attempts to bribe the judge in the Ellsberg trial.

The FBI has turned over to the House Judiciary Committee more than 150 documents the committee requested. None of these materials have yet been made public. The Justice Department stipu-



May 1970 Jackson State massacre. Impeachment panel hasn't bothered to include such crimes on its agenda.

lated when it delivered the documents that care should be taken to avoid "inadvertent disclosure of 'national security' information. . . ."

Secrecy on Huston plan

While some facts have been "leaked" from the committee on other aspects of the domestic intelligence now under examination, such as wiretapping of government officials, virtually no details on the Huston spy plan have been revealed by committee members. What is behind this tight secrecy?

This plan, drawn up by White House aide Tom Charles Huston and approved by Nixon in July 1970, recommended stepping up government use of illegal tactics against the Black, antiwar, and student movements, socialists, and other dissenters.

In agreeing to the plan, Nixon endorsed such unconstitutional practices as:

- Electronic surveillance
- "Covert coverage" of mail, meaning the opening and reading of private correspondence
- "Surreptitious entry," meaning burglary
- Stepped-up recruitment of government informers on campus

In addition, the plan called for the formation of an interagency "counterintelligence" body to supervise operation of the secret-police program.

Nixon claims he rescinded the plan five days after approving it, because J. Edgar Hoover objected to portions of it.

But Nixon is having a hard time proving that the plan did not go into action. The House Judiciary Committee's findings are only the latest example. Earlier this spring, the Senate Watergate committee reported that it was also unable to find evidence that the plan was rescinded.

On the other hand, there is ample proof that the

illegal activities recommended by Huston were set into motion. One example of this is a Sept. 18, 1970, memo to John Mitchell from John Dean concerning how to "commence our domestic intelligence operation as quickly as possible."

Evidently referring to the discussions about the plan in July, which Nixon claimed became "inoperative" when the plan was rescinded, Dean wrote: "I believe we agreed that it would be inappropriate to have any blanket removal of restrictions; rather, the most appropriate procedure would be . . . to remove the restraints, as necessary."

The Sept. 18 memo also discussed how the interagency body could be set up without drawing attention to its existence, and the type of person who should head it. Dean suggested someone "with administrative skills, a sensitivity to the implications of the current radical and subversive movements. . . ."

Just the 'plumbers'?

Some members of the House Judiciary Committee, according to the June 7 *New York Times*, have tried to suggest that the form that implementation of the Huston plan took was the creation of the White House "plumbers" in 1971. But while this secret White House team used many of the same methods outlined by Huston, its role was quite different. It was set up to stop leaks in the government bureaucracy—to prevent official secrets such as the Pentagon papers from coming out.

The Huston plan, on the other hand, was directed at Blacks, students, socialist, and antiwar activists. And since July 1970 there are numerous incidents that fit into the pattern of the Huston plan.

Jane Fonda has filed suit against the government, charging that aspects of the Huston plan were used against her because of her antiwar stance. She cites surveillance, burglary, and the maintaining of files on her activities. Another example is the October 1970 burglary at Brandeis University, where FBI agents broke into an office to steal records belonging to the National Student Strike Information Center, according to a former FBI agent who participated in the raid.

Spying on socialists

The most thoroughly documented evidence on implementation of the Huston plan is in the suit filed by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) against illegal government attacks. The impeachment panel, however, has shown little interest in investigating such attacks.

Since July 1970, when the Huston plan was first discussed, the SWP and YSA have been subjected to an intensified campaign of government attacks, the suit contends. These range from the bombing of the socialists' headquarters in Los Angeles and Houston, to burglaries in Detroit, to FBI visits to landlords and employers of SWP and YSA members.

In response to the socialists' suit, the FBI has



FBI's COINTELPRO operation against Black movement was conducted under both Republican and Democratic administrations.



1971 terrorist attack on Houston Socialist Workers campaign headquarters took place after Nixon supposedly rescinded secret spy plan.

already been forced to admit that it began electronic surveillance of SWP members in 1945, that it launched an "SWP Disruption Program" in 1961, and that it instituted a mail cover on the SWP national headquarters in 1973.

The Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support for the socialists' suit, has made all this evidence available to the House Judiciary Committee. But there is no indication that these illegal acts will be considered during the committee's investigation of domestic intelligence.

The Democrats and Republicans on the Judiciary Committee have similarly failed to investigate the attacks on other victims of government Watergating, such as the Black Panther Party, which was subjected to a barrage of murderous police attacks in 1969 and 1970, or the massacres at Kent State and Jackson State in May 1970.

Nor has the impeachment panel included on its agenda such illegal government spying as the FBI's COINTELPRO program, carried out under the Democratic administrations of John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, as well as under Nixon. There is mounting evidence that this program was used to set up the killing of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton in 1969, as well as other figures in the Black movement.

Impeachment cover-up

The House Judiciary Committee's decision to sidestep these attacks on Blacks, socialists, antiwar activists, and others is another clear example of the cover-up nature of the impeachment proceedings.

A full, public investigation of the Huston plan, COINTELPRO, and other domestic intelligence operations would implicate both Democrats and Republicans in these illegal acts. It would illustrate once again that the use of secret-police tactics to suppress dissent is a bipartisan policy dictated by the need to protect the rule of this society by a tiny, wealthy minority.

But the impeachment procedure is expressly designed to get across just the opposite idea—that Watergate is *not* the product of capitalist rule, but the result of one man, Richard Nixon. The solution to the lying, spying, bugging, and corruption is very simple, according to this argument: get rid of Nixon.

The rulers are trying to use impeachment to shore up sagging confidence in their capitalist two-party system. They hope the American people will view the impeachment hearings as a sign that the "solution" to Watergate can be found within the capitalist political framework, that is, through the Democratic and Republican parties and other institutions of bourgeois rule.

They are trying to persuade the American people that the politicians of the capitalist parties *do* represent the interests of the majority, instead of the bankers and big businessmen these fakers actually serve.

Frame-up effort continues

Five months of the Wounded Knee trial

By GREG CORNELL

Frame-up (fram up), n. (Colloq.) 1. A falsifying of evidence, testimony, etc. To make an innocent person seem guilty. 2. A secret and deceitful arrangement or scheme made beforehand.

— Webster's New World Dictionary

ST. PAUL, Minn. — The full picture of government deception is beginning to emerge in the trial of Dennis Banks and Russell Means.

There can be little doubt: The two Indian leaders are being framed.

More than five months and 51 witnesses after the trial began, the government has yet to link Banks and Means to any of the 10 counts in the federal indictment against them.

Defense attorney Kenneth Tilsen said in an interview, "if the prosecution were to rest at this point, it's our hope that the court would give serious consideration to dismissing every count."

The prosecution, in fact, concedes that it does not have evidence that Banks and Means actually committed the so-called crimes they are charged with. It's the government's bizarre contention that because Banks and Means led last year's 71-day seizure at Wounded Knee, they are responsible for alleged criminal acts even if they were not at the scene of the crime.

The "crimes" cited in the indictment include larceny of the Wounded Knee trading post, assault on three federal officers, possession of Molotov cocktails, theft of an automobile, conspiracy, and the building of bunkers and the setting up of roadblocks that allegedly interfered with federal officers and functions.

Defense attorney William Kunstler says the government strategy has been to pile inference upon inference, hoping in the absence of hard evidence to prove that because of their leadership roles, Banks and Means "must have aided or abetted other people at Wounded Knee."

The government tactic is a dangerous one. On the one hand, it leaves the prosecution wide open for dismissal of the charges. But on the other hand, if Banks and Means lose, it would not only be a blow to the defendants, but it would establish another precedent that if you are poor, radical, or nonwhite, you don't have to commit a crime to be convicted of it.

The defense has been accused by U.S. District Judge Fred Nichol of engaging in unnecessary courtroom theatrics. But as it has become all too apparent in recent weeks, the real theatrics have been engineered by the government, which has paraded to the stand one witness after another describing Indians taking hostages and in possession of guns and Molotov cocktails.

Strangely, however, the defendants are not accused of illegally possessing guns; nor are they charged with taking hostages.

And as the prosecuting attorneys admitted several weeks ago, the government doesn't have the evidence to retain the federal count alleging that Banks and Means possessed Molotov cocktails. Nonetheless, for several days last month the prosecutors hammered away at that count, bringing forward a number of agents to testify. Four Molotov cocktails, the government said, had been taken from the trunk of a car. That Banks and Means weren't in the car, nor did they own it, was irrelevant.

Nonetheless, the four alleged Molotov bottles sat on the ledge of the witness dock for days, over the angry protests of defense attorneys.

"The sole purpose of having these bottles in court is to inflame the jury," defense attorney Mark Lane, his voice rising, told Judge Nichol. "The government knows it can't prove that the defendants were in possession of the bottles."

After several days Nichol finally had the bottles removed, but not before



Dennis Banks (left) with Russell Means

the prosecution had artfully made another point designed, as Kunstler told *The Militant*, "to scare the jury."

The defense says that while on its face there is insufficient evidence to convict Banks and Means, the government's case itself is riddled with contradictions.

Numerous government witnesses have been unsure of their facts, or have had to reverse themselves when cross-examined by defense attorneys.

In the meantime, the real issue in the Wounded Knee trials—the right of Indians to self-determination and to control of their own land and reservations—has been shunted aside by the government and judge, who appear agreed that Banks's and Means's so-called crimes are what the trial is about.

The cause of the seizure—centuries of Indian oppression—is considered irrelevant. How else can this trial be described except as a frame-up?

The trial has had several explosive moments in recent days.

In court on June 4, Means angrily called FBI agent Vernon Grimes "a liar" when Grimes, on the witness stand, denied that the government had attempted to provoke an incident at a roadblock on March 8, 1973, during the seizure.

Judge Nichol immediately retorted: "Mr. Means, if you make another statement like that, I'm going to, and I have the power, to find you in contempt of court. One more statement like that and my power can put you in contempt of court. And it will be at least 24 hours in jail."

"Now with that knowledge, if you want to make statements like that, you may do so, but I want you to be forewarned."

"Your Honor," Means responded, "I believe it's the court's duty when seeing someone just plain lying against all previous testimony—something should be done."

"Mr. Means," Nichol said brusquely, "I now find you in contempt of court."

Defense attorneys argued that Nichol had invited an explanation, then found Means in contempt when he explained his position.

Nichol ordered a recess, and Means was carried from the courtroom by five U.S. marshals.

During the recess an agreement was reportedly worked out, and when court resumed Means arose and told Nichol he apologized.

Later, Means told reporters that he had been blackmailed by the judge, who threatened to withdraw his privilege, and that of codefendant Banks, to act as cocounsel as well as threatening to deny several court holidays asked for by the defendants.

When Nichol heard what Means had said, he canceled the holiday in the trial scheduled for June 14 to prevent the two defendants from attending the American Indian Movement's national convention in South Dakota as they had earlier requested.

Garment workers end strike, ratify contract

By ANDY ROSE

The national strike of 110,000 garment workers ended June 12 after a new contract agreement was reached between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and manufacturers of men's and boy's wear.

According to officials of the union, the membership voted 95 percent in favor of ratifying the new contract. The strike had begun June 1.

Garment workers hoped that this strike action—the union's first industry-wide walkout in 53 years—would

win them significantly improved wages and protection from spiraling inflation. Unfortunately, the new contract falls far short of this aim.

Voting on the contract was closest in Philadelphia, where it passed by 4,900 to 4,100. Strikers outside the Joseph Cohen clothing factory there told *Militant* reporter Duncan Williams that the total wage increase of \$1 an hour over the next three years would not cover last year's rise in prices, let alone future increases.

The large portion of the work force on the piecework system will not even get this increase in full, the workers said.

The press has reported \$3.50 as the current "average" wage for clothing workers, but in fact many have been making only \$2 or \$2.25.

Many Philadelphia workers considered the new cost-of-living clause nothing but a bad joke. It doesn't take effect until a year from now. Then, if the cost of living has risen more than the equivalent of \$.45 an hour (by a formula that has not been made public), garment workers may receive an increase of no more than \$.10 an hour.

Opponents of the contract in Philadelphia attributed the militancy there to the experience of a local strike that took place when the last contract was

announced in 1971.

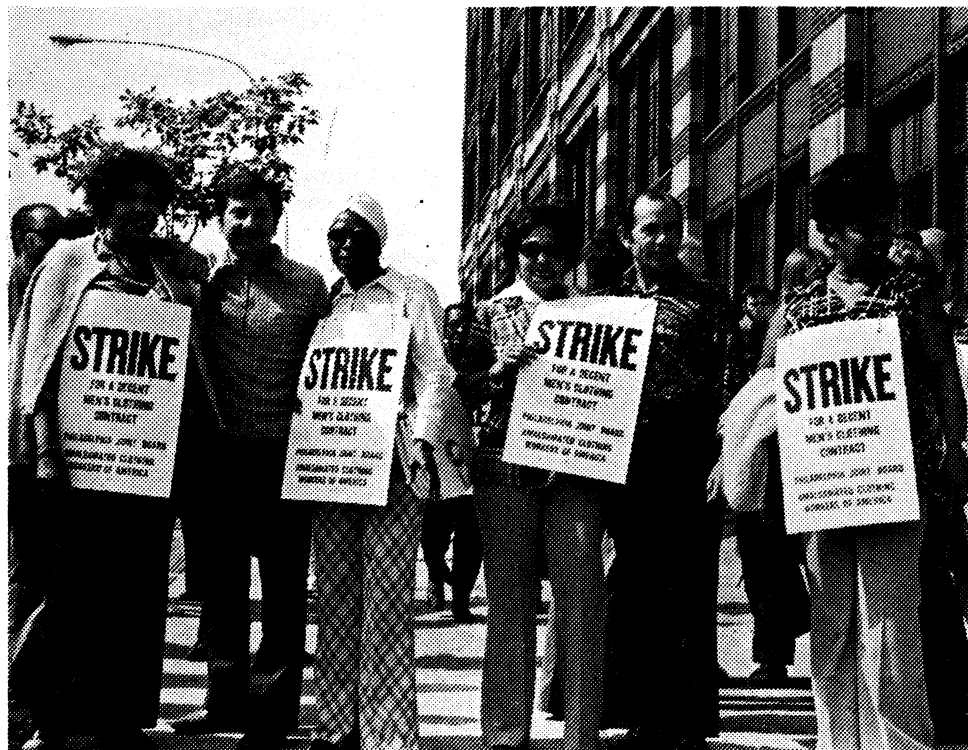
The unauthorized walkout lasted two weeks and spread briefly from Philadelphia and Allentown, Pa., to New York City. But it was eventually defeated.

During this month's walkout the union paid no strike benefits. This left clothing workers in no position to maintain a long strike, and undoubtedly contributed to willingness to accept the proposed settlement.

Pickets in New York had no union leaflets on the issues of their strike, but they sometimes told passersby a good deal about the problems of the union even when there wasn't much time to talk.

In the middle of the strike a *Militant* reporter spoke with a couple of Puerto Rican strikers in front of a Robert Hall clothing plant in Long Island City. Asked if the union planned to picket any of the Robert Hall outlet stores, they replied that they didn't know because the union officials had told them nothing about the strike or how it was being organized.

One said he wished the strike would end soon. They said no strike meetings of the membership had been called by the union leadership to discuss how their fight should be conducted or could be won.



Philadelphia strikers, many of whom opposed contract settlement as inadequate

Junta moves against war critics, workers

From Intercontinental Press

By Gerry Foley

Lisbon

I had a feeling when I left Lisbon early in the morning of May 25 that there would soon be a confrontation between the government, including the Communist and Socialist parties, and the left groups that have opposed the policies of Spínola's capitalist government of national union and class collaboration.

Unlike previous experiments of this kind, such as the postwar governments in a series of European countries or the French Popular Front in 1936-37, a large part of the university youth and intellectuals were openly skeptical about reformist solutions and prepared to advocate a socialist revolution as the only real answer to the problems of the country.

The lid was lifted at a time when bourgeois and reformist political structures were still extremely underdeveloped. The Portuguese masses, and in particular the journalists, who quickly acquired a high degree of freedom of expression in their publications, were determined to consider all sorts of political ideas and to engage in an intense process of political debate to make up for the long years of enforced silence.

Many of the big bourgeois dailies dutifully carried the statements of the Trotskyist, Maoist, and anarchist groups, as well as reports of their activities and interviews with their representatives. The meeting of four groups May 19 was televised. The entire speech of the well-known Trotskyist leader Ernest Mandel, who spoke on behalf of the Portuguese Trotskyists in this meeting, was broadcast over



Spinola government wants to end demonstrations and strikes, which have abounded since the coup.

determination and their ability to raise the most explosive question in the political context of Portugal today—the question of the colonial war.

In the May Day demonstration it was clear that the masses of Portuguese people believed the war was almost over. Hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of persons were celebrating peace.

But almost every day since that time the papers have carried lists of soldiers killed and wounded in the Portuguese colonies in Africa. And it is questionable how long the hoopla over the negotiations can obscure the harsh fact that the colonial war is continuing.

The colonial problem is a matter of life and death for the junta. And the junta does not seem inclined or able to make concessions to the opponents of the war. The regime has announced that the deserters and draft refusers returning to the country will be conscripted into the armed forces and are liable to be sent to the colonies. It could hardly have made a more unpopular decision, or one more likely to infuriate the radical youth.

That was evident at a mass meeting in the Coliseu dos Recreios in downtown Lisbon on May 24. The meeting was called by the same four groups that sponsored the meeting the previous week where Ernest Mandel spoke: the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League, sympathizing group of the Fourth International); the Unidade Revolucionária (Marxista-Leninista) (Revolutionary Unity, Marxist-Leninist); the Partido Revolucionário do Proletariado (PRP—Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat); and the Comissões de Base Socialistas (CBS—Rank-and-File Socialist Committees).

The meeting on May 24 was much the same as the one the previous week. There were the same thousands of radical youth (4,000 to 5,000), the same revolutionary chants and gestures.

'No soldiers to the colonies!'

But the announcement that the government intended to conscript deserters and draft refusers and send them into the colonial war brought almost the entire audience to its feet immediately in prolonged chanting: "Nem um só soldado mais para as colónias" (Not a single soldier more for the colonies). The crowd was photo-

graphed by television cameras as it expressed its defiance of the government and its radical sentiments.

At every high point of the meeting, cadres in the front stood up and led chants of "Todos a Rossio amanhã!" (Everyone out to Rossio tomorrow). The organizers of the meeting were making a real effort to bring out their following in the next day's demonstration against the continuance of the colonial war.

I could not attend the Rossio demonstration. I had to leave for a week in France. But the impact was quite clear from the French papers. The demonstration drew about 10,000 participants (5,000 according to the bourgeois press). And even the reports in the bourgeois press indicated that many young soldiers, as well as African students, participated.

The May 27 issue of the daily *República*, which tends to reflect the views of the Socialist party, described some clashes that occurred at the vigil for the Cuban Captain Peralta that followed the main demonstration:

"The demonstration of the six far-left organizations (CBS, PRP, LCI, URML, LUAR, and CICS) included about 10,000 persons and in the night of Saturday-Sunday transformed the Largo de Estrela into a hot spot, where one mass meeting followed on the heels of another and slogans against the colonial war and demanding the release of Peralta marked the style of the longest political meeting Lisbon has yet seen.

"At 5 p.m. yesterday, Major Casanova, the commander of the PSP [paramilitary security police] in Lisbon, announced that Captain Peralta was no longer in the Hospital Militar Principal at the same time as warning the demonstrators to leave the square.

"When the order was given for the (mounted) GNR [Guarda Nacional Republicana—Republican National Guard] and the PSP to act, they moved up two tanks with water cannon and tear-gas launchers. The demonstrators were drenched with water and beaten with clubs. The police advance was met with a barrage of stones. Only a few groups remained to hold meetings. . . .

"On this incident, the office of the chief of staff of the armed forces issued a communiqué that ended as follows: 'to avoid giving offense to all those who share in the spirit of its program and want to see it carried

out, the armed forces call on the people of Lisbon and their press to refrain from promoting attitudes that in no way serve the higher interests of the Nation.'"

New censorship?

This communiqué apparently created a momentary panic in Portuguese press circles whose effects may be long-lasting. The threat of a new censorship, I was told, convinced many editors that it was preferable to reinstitute their own censorship of leftist re-

In its first known political arrest of a left-wing critic, the Portuguese junta took into custody June 7 the editor of Luta Popular (People's Struggle), newspaper of the Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian Party. The editor, Luis Saldanha Sanches, was accused of inciting soldiers to desertion.

porters rather than risk a government crackdown. These warnings and pressures from the government seemed to be the first concerted attempt to cut off access to the mass media for groups critical of the government from the left.

Evidently the more right-wing elements in the junta had already grown impatient. For example General Galvão de Melo, one of the members of the Junta de Salvação Nacional, went on television May 27 to make the crudest kind of reactionary appeal, one which seemed to reflect the frustrations of all right-wing elements, including the supporters of the ousted regime:

"I received a letter dated May 22 from one Portuguese person, it could have been written by all real Portuguese men and women. It should be made known:

"'To the Junta de Salvação Nacional:

"'I supported the program of the Armed Forces Movement and the Junta de Salvação Nacional from the first.

"'I don't represent anyone but myself but in the four weeks since April 25 I am beginning to wonder, and I have gotten no answer, whether this is the freedom the Portuguese dreamed of.

"'Is this freedom releasing terrorists without a fatherland and making them

Continued on page 7

Exiled Peruvian socialist Hugo Blanco has joined Gerry Foley in Portugal as a correspondent for Intercontinental Press. Blanco was previously Intercontinental



Hugo Blanco

Press's correspondent in Chile until the right-wing coup. Future issues of The Militant will carry reports from Blanco as part of our coverage of the revolutionary developments in Portugal.

the radio and television network.

Obviously, it would not be long before the regime moved to isolate and restrict those groups that openly challenged the government and were particularly dangerous and embarrassing to the Communist Party, the main organized political force on which the government can rely and an absolutely essential ally for it at the present time.

Most explosive question

In particular, these groups have threatened the junta and its Stalinist and social democratic allies by their

The following are excerpts from an interview given to Gerry Foley on May 14 by Salome, a spokesperson of the African students occupying the former Procuradoria dos Estudantes Ultramarinos (Procurate for Students from the Overseas Provinces) in Lisbon. The interview took place in the occupied institution and was in English. It is reprinted from Intercontinental Press.

mand immediate independence for the colonies.

Q. What about the murder of Amílcar Cabral? Are you demanding an investigation of his murder?

A. Yes, although we know more or less what happened. It was a plot and we know perfectly well that General Spínola was one of the persons involved. We think it is important to clarify this question.

Q. Do you support any specific solutions for Portugal, or do you confine your demands to the question of the colonies alone?

A. We know that the problem of the colonies cannot be solved separately from the revolution all over the world. It is in this framework that we see the total independence of the colonies. And we think that while we are here in Portugal, it is our duty to fight against capitalist exploitation. That

colonies. We had banners saying "power to the workers."

Q. What about racism in Portuguese society? You already mentioned wage inequalities.

A. There is no legal discrimination. But in the case of the workers, they have to work much harder than Portuguese to prove that they are not lazy *negros*. And they usually are not paid as well as the Portuguese. I think the Portuguese people themselves are racist. It is quite understandable. I remember a speech by Salazar, for instance, where he said that the Europeans could not leave Africa because the Africans could not assume any responsibility. And this is a notion which, consciously or unconsciously, most Portuguese hold. While the people may not be racist in some ways, they are often paternalist, which I think is another form of racism.

As for the workers, I can talk about the ones from Cape Verde; most of them are from there. To come here, they have to find money for the passage. Sometimes they have to pay as much in interest as the amount they need. So, when they arrive they have to send money to their families to pay back their passage money.

Q. Whom do they borrow the money from?

A. From the priests, or from the commissions.

Q. Do the priests charge interest?

A. The priests usually charge less interest than the others, but they only give money to those who live the kind of lives they advocate. The workers also have to send money back to their families, and here in Portugal they live in very bad conditions.

They live almost entirely on rice and potatoes. They don't eat meat or fish.

Q. Is there a Cape Verdian district in Lisbon?

A. No, they usually live where they work, in shack towns.

Q. What actions are you planning now?

A. Since we are sure that we will have to fight against the Provisional Government in order to stay, we must inform the whole population about what is going on. So, we have formed committees to go to the schools, to the factories, and to the population

Interview in occupied building

African students in Lisbon fight for freedom of colonies

Question. What effect has the fall of the Salazarist regime had on the students from the colonies?

Answer. There are many students from the colonies studying here, but before April 25 they never expressed any opinion about the situation in the colonies or about politics in general. The repression was very strong—particularly against them. After April 25, things changed a little. And so all the students from the Portuguese colonies in Africa decided to meet and discuss among ourselves, especially about the colonial problem and the new political situation in general.

We had a meeting in the school of medicine in Lisbon, and we decided to occupy the old Procuradoria dos Estudantes Ultramarinos because it was an institution devoted to training the students from the colonies in the fascist ideology. We approved a statement of principles and marched from the school of medicine to this place. When we arrived here, we occupied the facilities and immediately began an assembly to discuss and analyze the situation and see what concrete measures we would take.

Q. Another person here told me this morning that you have tried to make contact with the African immigrant workers here. He said that there were about 20,000 workers from Cape Verde. Is that just in Lisbon or in all Portugal?

A. In Portugal, but most of them are here in Lisbon. That is a problem that preoccupies us. There are many workers from the colonies here, especially from Cape Verde. One of our aims is to begin a process of politicalization of the Cape Verdian workers here, and also the new students coming from the colonies. We want to call their attention to the situation in the colonies, because what concerns us most of all right now is the problem of the neocolonial solutions that are being proposed. In our statement of principles and the motion we accepted here, we declared in the strongest way that we would not accept any neocolonial solution.

Q. That means that you are opposed to General Spínola's concept of a federation?

A. Yes. We are strongly opposed to the solutions proposed by General Spínola—and not only General Spínola.

There are many other parties and sectors of Portuguese political life that propose neocolonialist solutions. And we are opposed to all of them. We de-

Q. What kind of a response have you gotten so far from the Cape Verdian workers in Portugal?

A. On May 5 there was a meeting here with the Cape Verdian workers and then a long demonstration here against the colonial war. But we have not yet begun serious work among them. We are really interested in that; we think it is very important.

Q. Do the African workers have any organizations of their own?

A. No, not yet.

Q. What about trade-union organization?

A. No, not even that. I think one of the most important things now is to tell the African workers to go to the trade unions and ask for the same wages as the Portuguese workers. The wages are not the same now. These are the first demands.

Q. What about support from Portuguese left groups? Have they offered you any help?

A. No. This was a spontaneous movement by all the students from the colonies. It is natural that some students have a preference for one or another group, but there have been no contacts between us and any of the Portuguese groups.

is our ultimate aim, to fight against every kind of exploitation. We don't want independence only so that our people can be exploited by Blacks instead of Portuguese colonialists, by a new bourgeoisie. For us, it is not a matter of Black or white; we are opposed to any kind of exploitation. And it is in this sense that we are opposed to any neocolonialist solution.

Q. Do you believe that the Salazar system has been smashed in Portugal?

A. Something has obviously changed. When Marcello Caetano had the power, we could not have been here. We couldn't talk about these things. But the essential remains, because we don't think that capitalist exploitation ended. That's obvious.

Q. Did the students from the colonies participate in the May 1 demonstration under their own banners?

A. Yes, of course. We have done this in all the demonstrations.

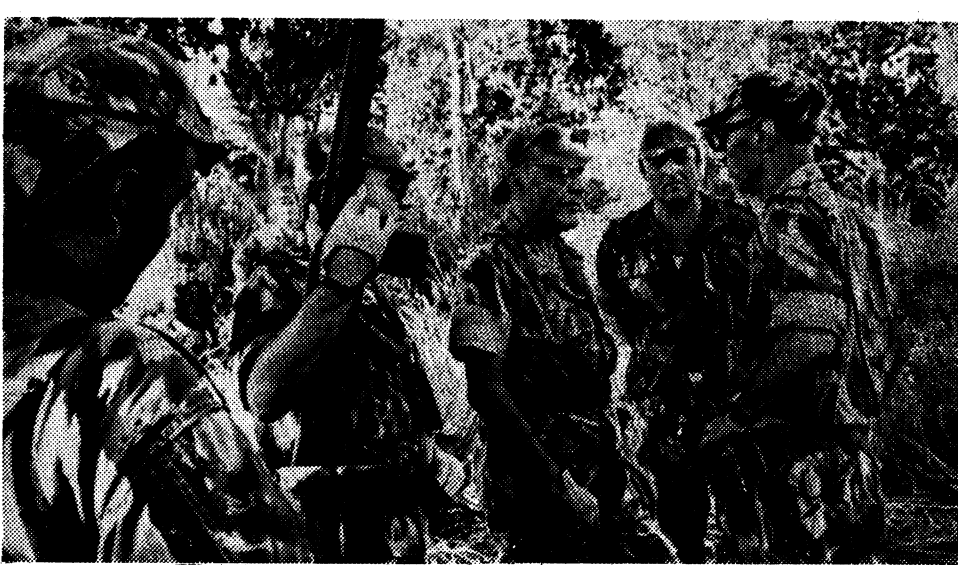
Q. What banners did you carry?

A. We had banners against the colonialist war, against capitalist exploitation. We concentrated on the question of the colonial war because we think it is the main problem now, independently of our being from the



Supporters of the liberation fighters in Guinea-Bissau

LNS/Mike Shuster



Spinola (middle) in previous job of military governor of Guinea-Bissau

in general to tell them what is going on here.

Q. What kind of response have you gotten from the Portuguese people themselves?

A. We have gotten support essentially from the students. But we have not yet been able to inform the rest of the population. After we hold the mass meeting we are planning, we will be able to say something about the reaction of the Portuguese people.

Q. What is the situation of the political prisoners in the colonies?

A. I think that all of those imprisoned for their political beliefs alone have been released. But the fighters from the liberation movements have not been released, and the junta told

tering the colonies?

A. No. We cannot give up our principles. We think we are students from the colonies, and we won't give up this principle. We have seen that during this entire process, the junta has been trying to get us to forget our principles. For example, we were under a lot of pressure from students who wanted their grants. The junta used this to try to get us to accept resumption of the payments before anything had been said about our program and our political demands. But we did not accept that, because in our negotiations with the junta, we can't let our principles get lost while our people are fighting in the colonies. We know for example that there have been many demonstrations in the colonies, by the people, who are against the neocolonialist solutions and who support the liberation movements. And just because we are here and not there, we can't get absorbed in negotiations. We have to be firm in our principles.

Q. Obviously then you do not give unconditional support to the junta like the Communist and Socialist party.

A. Oh no, we are radically opposed to that, because we are quite sure of what the junta wants. We know that the Military Movement was necessary for the Portuguese capitalists because the old government was not what they needed any longer. Furthermore, there was increasing pressure on the Portuguese government from the other countries to change its policy toward the colonies. Here in Portugal, the discontent of the great majority of the population was also growing. The struggle in the colonies was also mounting. There were many factors that produced the Military Movement.

We also know that the colonies are important for Portuguese capitalism. So, we are sure that exploitation of the African colonies will go on, even if the form changes. We cannot accept any solution that maintains this exploitation. We cannot say that the junta knows what it is doing about democratizing the country and restoring freedom, because we also know what this democracy and this freedom mean. We can say that some of the Portuguese people are getting more freedom and more rights, but we know that the exploitation of the Portuguese workers still goes on.

Q. Are you critical of the Communist and Socialist parties, then, for their attitude of unconditional support for the junta?

A. Yes. And I can give you an example of what happened at the May Day demonstration. There were some leftist groups that wanted to speak also. And the Socialists and the Communists that were there did not allow it. We have always criticized these alliances that forget about the real interests of the Portuguese workers and the people from the colonies.

...report from Portugal

Continued from page 5

into national heroes.

"Is it allowing and encouraging manhunts, gratuitous insults, physical abuse, sacking of houses.

"Is it boycotts of some, promoted by the official radio and television stations with shamefully and unrestrainedly biased reports in which the broadcasters themselves permit themselves the most improper attitudes and torment us with programs whose level sinks below all possible standards, making it impossible to clarify the half-truths and lies propagated by the stations paid for by all of us. And all this has happened without a single broadcaster being suspended, as would have occurred in any civilized country.

"Is this freedom allowed the papers to print ignobly in their columns, which can be read by any child, communiqués of prostitutes and homosexuals, in a demonstration of amorality unprecedented in any country where the values of family and morality have ever existed!"

A communiqué allegedly from a group of prostitutes had appeared earlier in the press, hailing the Armed Forces Movement and offering a special discount rate for members of the military. Despite its patriotic spirit, it seems, this statement was received in a less than friendly way by some sections of the officer corps.

Flowering of movements

At least one communiqué calling for the formation of a gay liberation movement has been rather widely circulated by the press. There is a flowering of all sorts of movements now in Portugal—ecology movements, women's liberation, educational reform—a ferment of advanced ideas that cannot help but profoundly upset the conservative bourgeois nationalist officers of the junta, as well as the whole traditional right wing in Portugal. It was clearly this ferment that General Galvão de Melo sought to stigmatize with his references to "prostitutes" and "homosexuals."

Although Galvão de Melo's pompous tirade obviously had a limited political effectiveness, arousing as it did memories of the reactionary fascist demagoguery of the ousted regime, it was only the opening shot in a much more extensive campaign by the government and its Communist party backers against "perverted" and "anarchistic" elements.

In the northern industrial center of Oporto, Spínola himself launched a general offensive May 28 against all forms of "indiscipline," in particular, strikes and protests by workers demanding higher wages and some control over the product of their labor. "I warn all the Portuguese people that the ideas of democracy and freedom that inspired the armed forces are being criminally undermined by counterrevolutionary forces. These forces, which exist in various sectors of the nation, seek only destruction and anarchy, economic chaos and unemployment, they are trying to carry out the well-known 'scorched earth' policy so that on the ruins of the country's economy and morale . . . they can build something foreign to the fatherland of our dreams."

Totalitarian flavor

A few days after my return to Lisbon, I saw a television newsreel of one of these appearances. It had a distinctly totalitarian flavor.

The film began with long scenes of drilling soldiers and prolonged sequences of military music and drum beats. Then the camera took up position above and behind Spínola. All you could see was his uniform and the crowd and banners in front of him. His face was never shown. The

speech ended with shouts of "Long live Portugal!" and renewed fanfares of military music. The waiter in the cafe seemed almost to stand at attention.

The Communist party and the trade-union federation Intersindical that it controls were quick to back Spínola's offensive. On May 29, the CP-controlled federation issued a communiqué warning the workers about "opportunistic elements of the right and extreme left that are exploiting the workers' impatience."

It called for a mass meeting June 1 to demonstrate "total repudiation of the provocative maneuvers of the enemies of the working class as well as solidarity with the Armed Forces Movement that these enemies want to weaken."

As for the SP, while it did not oppose this campaign, it took a more centrist position, apparently trying to maintain some contact with the more militant elements.

The issue of the French daily *Le Monde* that I read in the plane said that there had been a "relaxation of social tensions" after Spínola's speech in Oporto. The reports in the Portu-



Soldiers at Lisbon May Day rally, with flowers in their gun barrels. Soldiers in Africa are pressing to come home.

guese papers tended to confirm that the CP-military campaign has had some effect. There were several statements in the press by groups of workers opposing strikes.

Contradictions deepening

But at the same time, the contradictions of the present situation in Portugal seem to be deepening. Many small and middle capitalists, especially in the North, who were protected against foreign competition by the Salazarist system as well as guaranteed low labor costs, are threatening to close down and lock out their workers.

Many of those who had been swept up by the euphoria of the first days were brought sharply back to reality when Spínola allowed his friend Caetano to take an honorable exile in Brazil. This almost universally unpopular "gentlemanly act" made it clear that the junta and the ousted rulers belong to the same circles and showed that the regime is incapable of purging the rightist elements from the state and social apparatus.

The crackdown that followed the Rossio demonstration was the second blow to illusions in the junta. It also showed the nervousness of the junta on the colonial question. The next test for the regime may very well be how it deals with what seems to be a rapidly growing "bring us home" movement in the colonial army itself.

N.Y. action on Portugal

A demonstration to demand immediate withdrawal of Portuguese troops from Africa and immediate independence for the Portuguese colonies has been called in New York City. The action is planned for June 22 at 12 noon at the Casa de Portugal, which houses the Portuguese consulate and airlines. It is located at 570 Fifth Ave. between 46th and 47th streets.

The initial list of sponsors of the action includes New York Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation Movements; African Youth Movement; Southern Africa Committee; Ethiopian Student Union; Young Socialist Alliance; Pan African Student Organization of the Americas; Umoja Society; Socialist Workers Party; and the Committee for a Free South Africa.

us that they could not be because they were prisoners of war.

Q. Do you intend to develop a campaign to force the junta to release these prisoners?

A. I am sure this will be one of our tasks, but so far nothing has been planned. For one thing, we do not know if this institution will continue to exist. The junta's representative has told us that the present overseas ministry will be abolished and replaced by some kind of "interterritorial" ministry that would coordinate activities in the different areas. Then, there would no longer be an institution for students from the colonies but only for Portuguese students in general.

Q. That doesn't mean, does it, that you would accept giving up your own institution just because the government changed its form of adminis-

Gov't 'miniwar' breaks Indian rail strike

From Intercontinental Press

Speaking to a packed audience in the Socialist party headquarters in New Delhi May 27, a representative of one of the striking railway unions announced that the massive country-wide rail strike had been called off. "The government fought a miniwar," the unionist stated. "In a confrontation of that nature, the odds cannot but be against the workers."

The twenty-day strike was the longest railway strike in India's history. It ended only after the Gandhi regime unleashed one of the fiercest repressions against the labor movement in recent years. Between 30,000 and 50,000 railway workers were arrested during the strike, according to the May 29 *New York Times*. The regime invoked such emergency regulations as the Defence of India Rules (DIR) and the Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA), charging that the railway strike threatened the economy with collapse.

After the ending of the strike, George Fernandes, the head of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation and of the Socialist party, and other unionists were released from jail.

The May 18 *Bombay Economic and Political Weekly* reported that three members of Parliament visited the Tughlakabad railway colony in Delhi and found "the spectacle of a deserted town in war-time." "The entire male population of the colony," they said, "is in self-imposed exile, following attempts by the police to hunt out railway employees and take them to places of work at the point of the bayonet."

Intercontinental Press correspondent Sharad Jhaveri, writing from Jamnagar, Gujarat, May 23, reported: "The Gandhi government has let loose a veritable reign of terror and repression to suppress the fortnight-old countrywide general strike of railway workers. Thousands of railway employees have been arrested. They are being forcibly evicted from the railway colonies with the help of the

army, Territorial Army, and special police forces. Drinking water from taps has been discontinued. Food distribution shops in the colonies have been closed, threatening the workers with starvation. The massive propaganda machine is working overnight to give distorted news of the strike."

The reign of terror, moreover, was not restricted to the striking railway workers, but extended to their families. The May 17 *New Delhi Hindustan Times* described the situation in the railway colonies: "Large-scale eviction of families of striking railway employees from the staff quarters has become the talk of the town. . . . The railway authorities have pasted eviction notices on 353 staff quarters in various colonies. . . . Neighbours of the evicted families said police did not even allow them time to take out their belongings."

Wives of railway workers, according to the May 18 *Bombay Statesman Weekly*, demonstrated May 13 in Durgapur, West Bengal, to protest the beating of wives and children by the Central Reserve Police and the government's railway police. The resolution announcing the end of the strike, adopted in jail by George Fernandes and other rail unionists, noted that wives of railway workers had been "raped by the minions of law and order."

Despite the level of the repression and the government's efforts to blame the strikers for India's economic problems, the railway workers received considerable support from other sections of the working class. Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and other major industrial centers were paralyzed May 15 by a one-day general strike called in support of the railway workers. Among the organizations supporting the general strike call were the All-India Trade Union Congress, the Centre of Indian Trade Unions, the Hind Mazdoor Panchayat, the United Trade Union Congress, the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, and the Hind Maz-



Railway workers demonstrating in New Delhi during government 'reign of terror' against strike.

door Sabha.

The May 23 dispatch by Sharad Jhaveri noted: "Despite the government's censorship, several newspapers have reported that at many places the men of the Territorial Army refused to attack the workers."

On May 6, central trade union leaders and representatives of the Confederation of Central Government Employees and Workers issued a statement denouncing the use of armed force to break the strike, condemning the firing on railway workers in Malda, and appealing to their affiliates to extend "all manner of support" to the railway workers struggle.

The May 18 *Economic and Political Weekly* noted the overall economic situation that prompted such a show of militancy by the railway workers: "If despite the unrestrained use of the police, the railway workers have been

able to keep the strike going for so many days, the reason is not that they were particularly well organized for the strike or that they have received any extraordinary support from the opposition parties. It is the desperate economic condition of the workers—the cumulative result of continuously and sharply raising prices, acute shortages of the basic necessities of life, and growing unemployment—which has made them unexpectedly resilient and militant."

The same conditions that forced the railway workers to launch their massive strike also affect other sections of the working class. As the May 11 *Economic and Political Weekly* noted: "The government was going to make an example of the railwaymen and expected the working class as a whole to take the government's handling of the railway strike as a warning."

Hong Kong rally hits skyrocketing prices

From Intercontinental Press

By Sze Nei

Hong Kong

About 3,000 workers staged a rally at Victoria Park on May 5 to protest soaring prices. The rally was sponsored by the Anti-Inflation Action Committee and the May Day Workers Commission. Various organizations, including student unions, supported it. This was the first public protest meet-

ing of workers in Hong Kong since the upsurge of 1967 was defeated.

Some of the workers were reserved in their attitude toward the sponsors of the rally, who were mostly young workers and student activists. But the fact that they turned out indicated that the radicalization of the youth in Hong Kong has begun to affect other layers. It was likewise significant that these workers participated in an action that was not approved by the trade-union bureaucrats.



Electronics factory in Hong Kong. Cost of living is up 27 percent and layoffs have hit 10 percent of labor force.

Both the Maoists of the ultraleft and the Kuomintang of the ultraright found the May 5 rally not to their liking. The ultrarightists attacked it as a noisy show put on by long-haired youth. The ultraleft sectarians refused to participate because of the involvement of Trotskyists of the Fourth International.

Student unions controlled by the die-hard Maoists scorned invitations to share the platform. Maoist trade-union bureaucrats warned members not to attend the rally but to continue with the "criticize Lin-Confucius" campaign.

Since 1970, skyrocketing prices have become an increasing burden to the working people. According to the *Economic Information & Agency Magazine*, published in Hong Kong, the cost of living rose 27 percent last year alone. In the first three months of 1974, the cost of living jumped 18 percent. The price of rice, the main staple in Hong Kong, rose from \$1.40 to \$2.40 a catty [a Hong Kong dollar is equal to US\$0.20; a catty is a little more than a pound].

A recession has also hit Hong Kong. Production is down in plastics and textiles, the main light industries. Many factories constructed through foreign investments have closed. Other sectors are stagnating. Around 120,000 workers, about 10 percent of the labor force, have been laid off.

At the rally, speakers representing seven different organizations and stu-

dent unions addressed the crowd. Hong Kong's colonial government was charged with special responsibility for skyrocketing prices inasmuch as the government boosted taxes and the charges for public facilities. These were among the measures taken by British imperialism to bolster capitalism in Britain at the expense of the working masses in Hong Kong.

One of the demands voiced by the speakers was the recovery of Hong Kong's money reserves held in England (37,000 million Hong Kong dollars) and use of these funds to alleviate the plight of the masses in Hong Kong.

A four-point resolution was adopted calling for control of prices, a sliding scale of wages, a minimum wage of 900 Hong Kong dollars, and the payment of unemployment benefits.

The hope was expressed that the rally would mark the beginning of an intensive struggle in defense of the standard of living of the working class. Student representatives promised to back such a struggle to the utmost of their ability.

The rally received considerable publicity in the daily press and on radio and television. However, the Kuomintang journals slandered the organizers of the rally. As for the Maoist newspapers, they decided to follow a policy of silence and did not even mention the rally.

Unions repudiate murder of workers

Protests hit attacks on Argentine socialists

From Intercontinental Press

By JUDY WHITE

Between 4,000 and 5,000 persons assembled in front of the national headquarters of the PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International) in Buenos Aires on June 1. They came to attend the funeral of three PST members kidnapped and slain two days earlier by right-wing goons.

This is how the funeral was described in the Argentine bourgeois press:

"Banners and placards from political groups—Federación Juvenil Comunista [Communist Youth Federation], Acción Comunista [Communist Action], Juventud Socialista de Avanzada [Vanguard Socialist Youth], Política Obrera [Workers Politics]—were carried by groups made up mainly of young persons," reported *Mayoria*.

Clarín noted the presence of delegations from the printers union, from metalworkers locals in several iron and steel plants, and from shipyards in La Plata and Ensenada.

Funeral wreaths had been sent from, among others, the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers party), Juventud Peronista Regional I (Peronist Youth, Region I), the Montoneros, the Communist party, and "la organización subversiva declarada ilegal por el Gobierno" (the subversive organization declared illegal by the government)—a

the ASTARSA shipyards, where he functioned as a delegate for the boiler section, a member of his Comisión Interna (plant committee), and a member of the job safety committee.

The June 1 *Noticias*, in describing the background of the victims, pointed out that Meza had played a leading role in an occupation at ASTARSA over the question of safety conditions on the job only last year. The action was taken after a co-worker died in an industrial accident there.

Meza had also been a candidate on the same opposition slate in the last UOM (Unión Obrera Metalúrgica—Metalworkers Union) elections, as had Inosencio Fernández, the PST member slain earlier in May in the Pacheco district.

Moses, 24, worked in the Wobron Clutch Factory. He was born in Buenos Aires province and had studied physical science before joining the PST and getting involved in working-class struggles.

Zidda was a 22-year-old native of Italy who had lived in Argentina since he was four years of age. In Buenos Aires, he enrolled at the National School of Technical Education, Number 1, where he played a leading role in the 1972 student mobilizations. Shortly before that struggle he had joined the Juventud Socialista de Avanzada. At the time of his death he was working at the ABEA Textile Company and playing a leadership role in the JSA.



Funeral march for three murdered workers as it stopped in front of Argentine Socialist Workers Party headquarters.

sponsibility for the escalation of violence Argentina has been experiencing, he was quoted as saying.

The Juventud Trabajadora Peronista (Peronist Worker Youth) warned that the assassinations and jailings of workers "threaten to result in a real civil war, if the course taken by the government is not redirected and if the Peronist movement continues to be prevented from carrying out its role as backbone of the liberation front."

Speaking for the federal Senate, UCR (Unión Cívica Radical—Radical Civic Union) legislator Carlos Perette was quoted as demanding "an immediate investigation of the tremendous increase in assassinations, which is costing the lives of men of all persuasions. The nation knows the identity of the victims, but not of the perpetrators. These deeds cannot go unpunished. We must condemn them as we do all forms of violence." (*Crónica*, June 1.)

At the funeral itself, Ortega Peña of the Bloque de Base (a left Peronist formation) was reported by *Noticias* to have "attacked the government harshly," saying that repression is "linked to the names of functionaries of the executive branch of the government."

Even the CGT (Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor) and the leading body of the UOM division in which Meza and Moses were members felt obliged to make public statements: The CGT declared, "We put aside politics and call for reflection and prudence," and

the UOM bureaucracy published an ad in several Buenos Aires dailies insisting on their "total and categorical repudiation of the unspeakable and inhuman action" that the murders represented. The ad made it clear, however, that the bureaucrats considered such actions "aberrant" attempts to "stop the process of reconstruction and national liberation that the whole country is pledged to, under the direction of our only Leader, Lieutenant General Juan Domingo Perón."

PST demands

A twofold response from the PST to the murders and other terrorist attacks has been reported.

The party has called "all workers and people's organizations, and all political parties and their youth groups who are for the defense of democratic rights to unite in action" to demand an investigation and punishment of those responsible for the killings at Pacheco and elsewhere.

Coral also announced that the party has demanded that the government grant it the right to have heavy arms in its headquarters for self-defense.

Following a May 31 meeting between Coral and Minister of the Interior Benito Llambi, at which this demand was made, Coral reported to the press that Llambi had at one time said that the Argentine federal police were the best in the world. If that is so, demanded Coral, "Why haven't they found a single one of those responsible for the hundreds of attacks against the working class?"



Assassinated worker militants (from left) Oscar Meza, Mario Zidda, Antonio Moses

reference to the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo [Revolutionary Army of the People].

Speakers at the rally included PST leaders Nahuel Moreno and Juan Carlos Coral, workers from several plants that have recently been involved in struggles for union democracy, federal parliamentary deputies Héctor Sandler and Rodolfo Ortega Peña, and representatives from a wide range of center and left political groups.

Dozens more labor, student, and political organizations from all over Argentina had sent declarations of solidarity and support to the PST by the time of the funeral, as had groups from Canada, the United States, Venezuela, Spain, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Mexico.

A growing list of leading intellectuals and public figures have also protested the assassinations.

The victims

In addition to being activists in the PST, Oscar Dalmacio Meza, Antonio Moses, and Mario Zidda were known in the Pacheco district of Buenos Aires for their participation in labor struggles.

Meza, 27, was born in Corrientes province. He was a metalworker at

Accounts in the Argentine bourgeois press following the killings provided the following interpretations of the events:

Cronista Comercial June 1 quoted a PST press statement: "The assassinations of 'Indio' Fernández, Moses, Meza, and Zidda bear the same trademark as the massacre at Ezeiza [scores were killed and several hundred were wounded last May while awaiting Perón's return from exile], the assassinations of the Communist worker Rojas in Córdoba, the Peronist potter Bacci, JP [Juventud Peronista—Peronist Youth] compañera Lilliana Ivanoff, newspaperman Fumaro-la, and the attempt against Senator Solari Irigoyen, former defense attorney for political prisoners."

Noticias quoted PST leader Juan Carlos Coral as stating at a press conference the same day that terrorism in the recent period had been used as "an instrument to enforce the Social Pact,"—the Peronist government's antilabor program. He blamed the government for not having taken the necessary steps to prevent assassinations like the ones in Pacheco, and accused the union bureaucracy of carrying out such crimes in response to the "combative activism" of the workers. This bureaucracy must bear re-

USLA calls for solidarity

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners has issued a statement condemning the recent series of bombings, shootings, and murder of members of the Argentine Socialist Workers Party (PST).

The civil liberties organization noted, "The assaults on the PST are part of a right-wing campaign which recently claimed the life of Father Carlos Mujica, a progressive Catholic priest who was machine-gunned by 'unknown assailants' May 11."

USLA hails the motion passed by the Argentine senate May 31 that denounces the murder of the three PST members and calls on Perón's government to arrest the attackers.

It urges all those who defend the democratic rights of the Argentine working class and political organizations to join in protesting the assault and to send statements of solidarity to the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores at 24 de Noviembre 225, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Election 'reform'?

The political hucksters in this country are working overtime these days. They have laid hold of a "surefire cure" for government corruption, and all they have to do is get people to buy it. The patent medicine is known as "campaign reform," and the wonders it will work on the body politic are said to be stupendous.

Referring to the recently passed Proposition 9 in California, Common Cause Chairman John Gardner proclaimed its passage as "the most spectacular test of the post-Watergate mood . . . the last stand for the boys in the back room."

These laws are not only completely fraudulent in their claim of being the answer to Watergate but also pose serious threats to democratic rights. They impose new restrictions on political activity by trade unions, Black and Chicano organizations, and parties like the Socialist Workers Party.

Proposition 9, for example, means that groups that raise and spend money to "influence legislation"—and what political organization doesn't?—will have to register with the state government and turn over the names and addresses of their contributors.

Harold Willens, California coordinator for Common Cause, one of the main promoters of Proposition 9, says that he "understand[s] the problem" of these violations of rights. But "in the final analysis," he sanctimoniously proclaims, "one has to opt for emphasis on public good rather than private protection."

"Public good" for this liberal means the maintenance of the illusions of the American people in the two-party shell game. The "private protection" he so cavalierly dismisses is the fundamental democratic right to organize and engage in political activity without government interference or surveillance.

If these reformers were really interested in making elections in this country more democratic they would join with the SWP and other groups fighting to get rid of the state election laws aimed at restricting access to the ballot by opponents of the capitalist parties. In California, for example, the requirements are set so high as to virtually guarantee a ballot monopoly for the Democrats and Republicans.

In some states, ballot status can be won, but only through the expensive and time-consuming process of collecting tens of thousands of signatures. Recently supporters of the SWP have been working to put the party candidates on the ballot through large-scale petitioning drives in several states.

In the past few weeks, more than 200,000 signatures have been collected in Massachusetts, Missouri, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, and Texas. Everywhere, petitioners report that people are increasingly fed up with the capitalist parties and politicians and are more receptive to the socialist alternative.

And that is exactly what has the capitalist "reformers" worried. The only way the "boys in the back room" are going to be booted out of power is through the independent actions of the working class and its allies, mobilized outside the control of the capitalist parties. The current batch of election "reforms" are designed to place new obstacles in the way of such independent political action.

Workers democracy

A serious attack on democratic rights occurred in San Francisco following a June 1 demonstration to protest plans to nullify state laws beneficial to women workers.

Five women trade unionist participants were physically attacked by thugs led by members of the Maoist Revolutionary Union. One man who came to the women's defense had his ear lobe bitten off.

The victims, members of the Militant Action Caucus of the Communications Workers of America and the Spartacist League, were attacked simply because they had passed out leaflets or carried placards in support of the Equal Rights Amendment. Passage of this amendment, which is backed by the overwhelming majority of the women's movement and of the labor movement, would aid working women in fighting for equal rights on the job and in society.

The Revolutionary Union has a right to hold its wrong position of opposition to the ERA, but it has no right to beat up those who express their support to the measure.

As a statement of the San Francisco Socialist Workers Party explained, "The violent suppression of ideas is a tactic used by the capitalist class and union bureaucrats to suppress their opponents."

The statement condemns the RU attack and urges support to the right of all groups in the workers movement "to attempt to win people over on the merits of their ideas and not by brute force."

Capitalist violence

I just finished the material that concerns the SLA in your June 7 issue. The articles were informative, concise, and educational. Gary Atwood's piece was especially good.

We all must realize that violence will be directed against socialist states, so this sickness will not be a "thing of the past." The capitalists do all they can to prevent humans from seizing the rightful control of their own lives and destinies.

Thanks for helping my head develop along the path it should be on.

Glenn Gidaly
New Paltz, N.Y.

Informational treat

Being here in this segregation unit, one wonders how the struggle goes. I often have the occasion to wonder how my brothers and sisters throughout the USA, as well as abroad, are resisting. Toward this question, *The Militant* is a must.

I have already passed on the issue I received. And *The Militant* brings militants closer together here. So, I thank you on behalf of myself and all the others who continue to look forward to this informational treat. Please continue in your righteous efforts, none of it is in vain.

A prisoner
California

Capitalism & crime

The way I see it, capitalism breeds crime. A person steals because he has to satisfy a drug habit, or because he is an alcoholic who wants a drink, or simply because he is poor and needs to satisfy his material needs. The material basis for crime exists in this decadent society.

If you steal from a capitalist, like bank robbery or shoplifting, the penalties are stiff, and the ruling class mobilizes its forces to catch the "criminal." But if you steal from a proletarian, that's different. The police make half-assed attempts to catch the "criminal." The ruling class wants the working class to call for more police in the streets and stiffer penalties for "criminals."

More police and stricter laws are not going to eliminate crime. Only a revolutionary transformation of society will do this, whereby drug addicts and alcoholics are cured through expanded treatment centers, and poor people have their material needs satisfied, like decent housing, schools, hospitals and wages. If this is done, then murder will also be eliminated.

Tom LoBello
Bronx, N.Y.

Intro 2

With yet another defeat (the fourth) of an equal employment and housing law (this time Intro 2) for gays in New York, the need for active participation and mobilization of gay organizations for any effective change in the present antigay laws is obvious. The pressure applied by the Catholic Church to defeat Intro 2 is similar to the role it has played, and is continuing to play, in trying to prohibit the right of women to abortions.

Only further struggles by gays for their rights will bring an end to

these oppressive laws. Gays must not sit back after this defeat but must join together in action to counteract the city council's decision.

Karen Bancroft
New York, N.Y.

Inspiration

The Militant is a constant inspiration and source of facts useful to convince people of the necessity and possibility of a revolution.

L.A.R.
Boston, Mass.

Portugal

It is my belief that from your official position as expressed in *The Militant* that you realize the necessity of a united left in the form of one cohesive organ reflecting and representing the workers' interests—disassociated from the concept of "United Front" politics, which bloodied the Chilean peoples.

The Portuguese people at this very moment are being led into the same disaster. This charge into inevitable tragedy stars Alvaro Cunhal and features Mario Soares, whose overnight fame was the result of the direct and decisive blows dealt to the Portuguese ruling class via the Portuguese army by the courageous African Freedom Fighters. So if these clowns had any genuine sense of revolutionary morality and duty, they would solidarize with Frelimo, PAIGC, and MPLA.

A prisoner
Michigan

Low level?

Please discontinue my trial subscription to your paper. I found a great deal of interesting and good information in your paper, almost too much! However, the reporting on the Mideast was of such a low level, so biased and poorly written, that I consider it disgraceful.

Orella Winfield
Los Angeles, Calif.

Zionists' trump card

While in general agreement with *The Militant's* emphasis on the responsibility of the Israeli state for the recent rash of terror in the Mideast, I feel it has fallen short in one important aspect of necessary criticism with regard to the recent terrorist raids at Qiryat Shemona and Maalot—the deleterious effects that such raids have on the possibility of future rapprochement between the two national communities concerned.

The trump card in the Zionists' hand has always been the portrayal of the Palestinian struggle as simply another link in the historical chain of the persecution of Jews, that the Palestinian organizations calling for a "democratic Palestine" are simply using sweet talk to cover up their "desire" to drive the Jews out, or at least put them firmly under their bootheels.

The raid on Qiryat Shemona and subsequent killings at Maalot served only to heighten the racist anti-Arab hysteria in Israel, the USA, and so many other places, by "furnishing" fresh "proof" of Palestinian "intentions," providing focal points to bolster the Zionist claim that a



democratic Palestine with Jewish-Arab coexistence is impossible. These acts have strengthened the Zionist hand and have made their policy of terror and repression against the Palestinian people and left-wing elements within Israel itself that much easier to pursue.

B.F.
Seattle, Wash.

Sells to GIs

I've been getting a bundle of 20 *Militants* per week, which I sell mostly to GIs. It's really been going good, no trouble selling out. For example, yesterday I sold 10 *Militants* in 25 minutes at the PX.

D.J.
Frankfurt, Germany

UAW local strike

The workers at the Fleetwood Fisher Body plant, members of United Auto Workers Local 15, took a strike vote in October 1973. The strike wasn't called until May 13, 1974. It was ended two weeks later on May 26, only two weeks before the plant will close for model change.

As a result of the fuel crisis, the sale of Cadillacs took a sharp drop, resulting in the laying off of 1,500 workers. The other 4,000 were on short workweeks. In March Cadillac sales made a quick recovery. The press reported that Fleetwood would call back 600 workers. Two months later, when the strike was called, the union claimed there were only 359 of the 600 actually on the job.

I spoke to one of the old-timers on the polishing line. He told me that manpower on his operation had been cut by 50 percent. Speedup was widespread throughout the plant. Management forced the union leadership to call the strike. The strike wasn't a costly one for General Motors.

The strike was a cut-and-dried affair. Everyone knew in advance the strike would only last two weeks. When the agreement was reached, the president of the union said the company had agreed to add more than 300 people to the work force. He said nothing about the local agreement they were also to have negotiated.

The workers at Fleetwood must be skeptical about any agreement reached with Fleetwood management, for it has a reputation for violating their agreements with the union. With only six weeks before model change the company doesn't have to fear another strike. They can rely on the shop committee to help them get maximum production from the men and women who pay from \$10 to \$15 per month dues.

John Anderson
Dearborn, Mich.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Rank-and-file steelworkers meet

The following is a guest column by Bill Breihan, a member of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 3643 in St. Louis. Breihan was a participant in the rank-and-file steelworkers conference held in Chicago May 26-27. The column is in two parts; the second part will appear in next week's *Militant*.

The recent rank-and-file steelworkers conference was hosted by the District 31 Right to Strike Committee, based in Chicago and Gary, Ind. It brought together representatives from nearly a dozen groups and caucuses, including Rank and File Team (RAFT), Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Steelworkers, Steelworkers for Equality, and Steelworkers for Change.

These groups are strongly opposed to the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), the no-strike deal worked out last year between USWA President I.W. Abel and the steel trust. When Abel agreed to a new contract in April, negotiated under the ENA, steelworkers got a pitiful 3.3 percent wage increase and the promise of six more years of such "labor peace" under ENA.

Rank-and-file groups have also been organizing against the "consent decree" on race and sex discrimination in the industry. This decree would provide an inadequate amount of back pay for some Black and women workers. Worse, it would perpetuate discriminatory practices, and make it impossible for steelworkers to take future court action against them.

Two hundred people attended the conference. One hundred of these were USWA members; the rest were interested unionists from other industries and radicals from the various political tendencies.

In addition to the Chicago-Gary area, people came from Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Akron, Cleveland, Youngstown, St. Louis, Seattle, Los Angeles, Detroit, Baltimore, Toronto, and other cities.

Workshops were held on the ENA, coke-oven workers and health and safety, union democracy and caucus building, discrimination and the consent de-

cree, and problems faced by women.

Resolutions were presented by the various groups and individuals, discussed in the workshops, voted on, and then presented to the conference as a whole for amendment and approval. Nonsteelworkers were allowed some speaking rights, but only USWA members and their spouses could vote.

Resolutions called for scrapping the ENA, for all future contracts and agreements to be ratified by everyone affected, and for affirming the right to strike. In addition to calling for abolition of the consent decrees, the conference resolved to support "a quota system in hiring and placement and upgrading based on the proportional makeup of minorities, Blacks and Latins, and women, among those who apply."

The conference decided to support the recently formed Coalition of Labor Union Women, and proposed the formation of women's rights committees in all USWA locals. It also supported passage of the Equal Rights Amendment and "the application and extension of protective legislation to all workers."

A primary goal of this conference was to organize and coordinate the efforts of all the opposition groups in their attempts to elect rank-and-file militants as delegates to the September USWA convention in Atlantic City, N.J. To this end, an Aug. 17 follow-up conference was called, which will be a working session for all elected oppositional delegates to plan their activities at the convention. It will also be open to all USWA members and groups.

Some of the resolutions adopted in Chicago are intended to be raised at the USWA convention. Other tentative plans include distributing the resolutions to the convention delegates, a march and demonstration outside the convention hall, and a rank-and-file delegate meeting in Atlantic City.

The conference concluded with a Memorial Day picnic to honor the 10 steelworkers gunned down by Chicago cops on May 30, 1937, in the infamous Memorial Day Massacre at Republic Steel.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Stop the torture in Chile!

Sixty-year-old Lucy Lorstch showed the scars from her torture at the hands of the Chilean junta to an investigating team of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom last February. She had been imprisoned and abused—with no charges brought against her—since Sept. 26, 1973, shortly after the Chile coup. As far as we know, she's still in prison.

"I am not a political prisoner," Lorstch told the women. "I'm a historian. I don't do anything political."

Lorstch is one of many women being held in Chile's torture chambers, subjected to the most horrid of physical abuse.

At a recent news conference, the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) released a document smuggled out of Chile that details some of the junta's crimes against women.

The document pleads for protests against the barbarities committed against women in detention centers in Chile—specifically noting those of "El Buen Pastor" and "Tejas Verdes." It lists 36 women by name—among them labor leaders, writers, teachers, actresses, and doctors—who are among those held.

"These women and girls," says the document, "arrive at the 'Buen Pastor' jail from other torture camps where they have been subjected to the most monstrous abjections: several have had live mice introduced in their vaginas. In Tejas Verdes . . . one girl reported having been 'thrown' at the young conscripts to be raped, whether they, the soldiers, were willing or not. . . . Girls finally came to jail from these places with their hair pulled off in handfuls, their nipples blown off or burnt, their genitals destroyed by electricity."

Judith Malina, a member of the Living Theatre who spent two-and-a-half months in a Brazilian prison in 1971, spoke at the USLA news conference about the special degradations women prisoners face. "Sexism becomes sadism," she said. "Society regards

women as not being total human beings—the person inflicting pain likewise considers them less than human beings and treats them accordingly." Also appearing at the news conference were Rose Styron of Amnesty International and Dr. Evelyn Mauss of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

USLA is launching an international campaign to publicize and expose these atrocities. As a first step, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States, which is scheduled to visit Chile in July, is being urged to investigate these crimes.

USLA has requested, in a letter to the executive secretary of the commission, that a woman doctor be included among the fact-finding team's members so that she can personally witness the condition of the women being held. Male doctors have often been denied entrance to the women's prisons or women's sections of prisons.

This request is all the more imperative in face of the Chilean military government's recent refusal to allow the International Red Cross to continue inspecting the jails and prisons.

The importance of international pressure against the Chilean junta was stressed by Judith Malina. It was "the pressure and outcry" from people around the world, she said, that was responsible for her release from a Brazilian prison. "In this way we were protected," she noted.

The same kind of pressure must be brought to bear on the Chilean junta. Mirta Vidal from the USLA staff told the press, "we will utilize all means—petition campaigns, open letters, rallies or demonstrations—until the well-being and safety of these women are guaranteed."

To become part of this campaign, contact USLA, 156 Fifth Ave., Room 703, New York, N.Y. 10010. Telephone: (212) 691-2880.



Fatherly view—Honored as Father of the Year, Vice-president Ford said he's found that young people are not alienated as a result of Watergate because they realize that "most" politicians are honest. Sure. Just like they realize the law of gravity has been suspended.

Inflation fighter—To deal with price-gouging in vegetables, Representative James Burke (D-Mass.) introduced a bill to provide free garden seeds to all Americans who want them. Like New Yorkers could raise tomatoes in the soot on the sill.

Ah, those Friendly Skies—The Federal Aviation Commission confirmed that airlines are using antihijacking

statutes to keep the handicapped from flying. Disabled travelers have been denied plane tickets on the ground that in the event of a crash they might obstruct orderly evacuation.

Shopping tip—Under a new Florida statute you can now purchase an American flag in that state without paying sales tax.

The march of science—A breeder of white mice invented a machine for milking mice. Probably the same guy who developed the gasoline pump.

They thought it was more?—A Los Angeles research group found that the three major Los Angeles TV stations

devoted 25 percent of their evening news broadcast time to commercials, a statistic they called "startling."

Try a correspondence course—In one of New Zealand's biggest bank robberies, a gunman relieved a cashier of \$100,000 while the bank's other two cashiers were attending a crime prevention course.

Dollars and scents—A prosperous industry has developed around the demand for artificial smells. They've got one to make vinyl gloves smell like leather and another that makes blue cheese smell cheesier. Now, if they had one for Nixon...



'You have a pretty good case, Mr. Pitkin. How much justice can you afford?'

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendas



The Boulder killings

LOS ANGELES—The tragic killings of six people in the recent Boulder, Colo., bombings are a blow to the entire Chicano movement.

These deaths come in the wake of a pattern of vicious attacks on Colorado Chicano activists, including the murderous March 17, 1973, police assault of the Denver Escuela Tlatelolco, where Luis "Junior" Martinez was killed. Many activists in the movement in Colorado have also been hit with frame-up charges.

This pattern of attacks, coupled with what we have learned about the government's use of violence and secret-police tactics against the Black movement, socialists, and other dissenters, has led many to believe the Colorado bombings were no accident.

As Corky Gonzales, leader of the Crusade for Justice, put it, "we have reason to suspect that we are dealing with highly skilled killers, who have access to the most technical and sophisticated resources and materials. Their methods have been used in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, Cambodia, Africa, Asia, Chile, and across South America."

The response of the police and the major newspapers to the bombings has been typical. They are trying to make the victims look like the crimi-

nals, charging that the explosions were caused by bombs being prepared by the activists.

In addition, police have used the killings as an excuse to raid the homes of other activists, and are now talking about leveling charges against the one person who survived the bombings. (See news story on page 17.)

The whole Chicano movement is faced with the task of responding to these attacks. Because of the media blackout, and the moves by Boulder authorities to suppress the evidence, the immediate problem is to get out the facts about what really happened.

We should demand that the full truth about the circumstances of the bombings be made public. What evidence do the police have? How do they explain the many contradictions in their version of how the explosions occurred?

The way the police and the news media have used these tragic deaths to smear the Chicano movement points to the need for an independent inquiry into this matter. Such an inquiry could break through the lies and slander of the "official" account of the killings by bringing out the facts of what actually happened.

An independent investigation of this kind can

be very effective. After the killing of two Southern University students in 1972, for example, a Black People's Committee of Inquiry was formed, and its investigation helped counter the whitewash of those police killings.

By building a mass response, we can turn the tables on the enemies of the Chicano people, who hope the Boulder killings will weaken our movement.

Acts of terror are intended to intimidate those who are fighting for social justice. They are aimed at silencing the Raza Unida Party, Crusade for Justice, Chicano students, and the movement as a whole. They are designed to convince those not already involved in the struggle that it is too risky to organize.

Our response must be to build the movement even bigger and stronger.

In 1970 a police attack on the Los Angeles Chicano Moratorium left three *carnales* dead. It was intended to tell Chicanos: "Give up protesting the war; it's dangerous." Some Chicano youth answered those cops with a slogan that is exactly to the point today: "We will not be intimidated!" This is the spirit with which we should approach the Colorado killings.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



The racist use of the rape laws

Scanning the history of the application of the rape laws in this country shows that Black men have drawn the lion's share of their use. Since 1930, 455 men have been executed for rape, and 405 of them were Black.

When the U.S. Supreme Court made its decision last month not to review the case of Thomas Wansley, it laid to rest the last of the legal channels for this 28-year-old Black man, who has spent 11 years in a Virginia prison for a rape he did not commit. Now he has to wait another three-and-a-half years before he can apply for parole on the life sentence he got.

Wansley was arrested in 1961 in Lynchburg, Va., during a wave of racist hysteria in response to civil rights actions. He was put on trial charged with raping a white woman. He asserted his innocence. The woman couldn't identify him, but he was convicted anyway.

A more recent case involving the Tarboro (North Carolina) Three is another example of the racist use of the rape law.

The Tarboro Three are three Black men in their early twenties who face the North Carolina gas chamber after being convicted by a mostly white jury of raping a white woman.

Witnesses report the woman voluntarily entered a car with the Three and drove off. In court the Three said the woman had sex with them voluntarily. "They were convicted because that girl had to protect her reputation [she was observed leaving the car near her home by several whites], and she's willing to pay these men's lives to do it," a brother of one of the Three said.

The Three were offered the chance to plead guilty to a lesser charge of assault with intent to commit rape, a crime that allows parole in as little as three years. Even though they faced the possibility of the gas chamber, they maintained their innocence.

The Three were sentenced last Dec. 9 under a North Carolina law that made death mandatory for rape, murder, arson, and burglary convictions.

A short time ago, the state's death penalty was

stricken for cases of burglary, arson, and rape where life isn't threatened. But the new law was not made retroactive, and the Tarboro Three still sit on death row.

The racist application of the rape laws is shown in this case—as well as in the earlier cases of the Scottsboro Boys, Willie McGee, and others—whereby a Black man is easily convicted, whether or not he's guilty, if the woman involved is white.

The women who are raped most often, however, are Black. Yet the cops, courts, and juries are not so anxious to "protect" them.

The Southern Poverty Law Center, located in Montgomery, Ala., and headed by Julian Bond, is handling appeals for the Three. "I am convinced that these men are innocent," Bond said in a letter to *The Militant*. The Three were to be executed Jan. 10, but a stay was granted pending the appeal.

For more information on the case contact Southern Poverty Law Center, 119 South McDonough, Montgomery, Ala. 36101.

New memo shows gov't lied

FBI 'disruption' of SWP was never ended

By ELAINE MITCHELL

The FBI has released a new document on its "Socialist Workers Party Disruption Program" that shows the program was *not* slated for termination in 1969, as the government has claimed, but merely streamlined to "eliminate paper work."

The memorandum, dated Oct. 9, 1969, was turned over to attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) in response to interrogatories in the SWP and YSA suit against illegal government attacks. Noted constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin is representing the socialists, who are demanding a halt to wiretapping, burglary, bombing, use of police agents, and FBI harassment against members of the SWP and YSA. The suit also seeks \$27-million in damages.

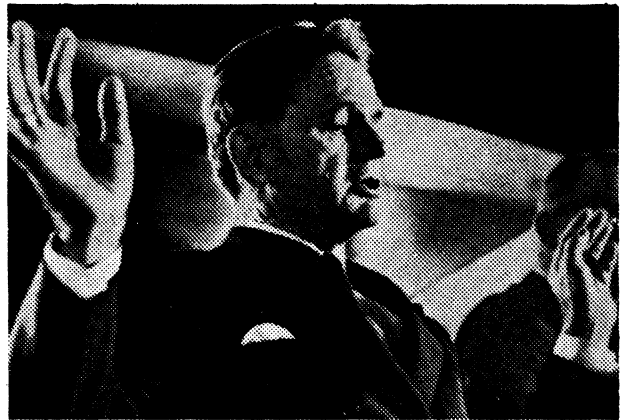
COINTELPRO

The government was forced to admit it conducted an "SWP Disruption Program" after documents on the FBI's COINTELPRO (counterintelligence program) were made public last fall. The documents named the SWP as one of the targets of COINTELPRO, which former FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover put into motion to "expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize" Black, "new left," socialist, and other radical groups.

In previous answers to interrogatories in the socialists' suit, the FBI had stated that it began the SWP Disruption Program in 1961 and recommended termination of the program in 1969. But the Oct. 9, 1969, memo establishes that this is not true.

This memo was sent to William Sullivan, then an assistant to FBI Director Hoover, from Charles Brennan, a former assistant director of the Domestic Intelligence Division. According to the FBI, Sullivan instituted the "SWP Disruption Program" in 1961, and Brennan took charge of the program after Sullivan left the FBI.

"In order to eliminate paper work wherever possible," Brennan wrote, "it is recommended that captioned disruptive action [against the SWP] be dis-



William Sullivan, assistant to FBI's Hoover, initiated 'SWP Disruption Program.'

continued as a program."

However, the memo goes on to say, "In the future, the disruptive action directed against the SWP will be handled on an individual case basis as deemed appropriate."

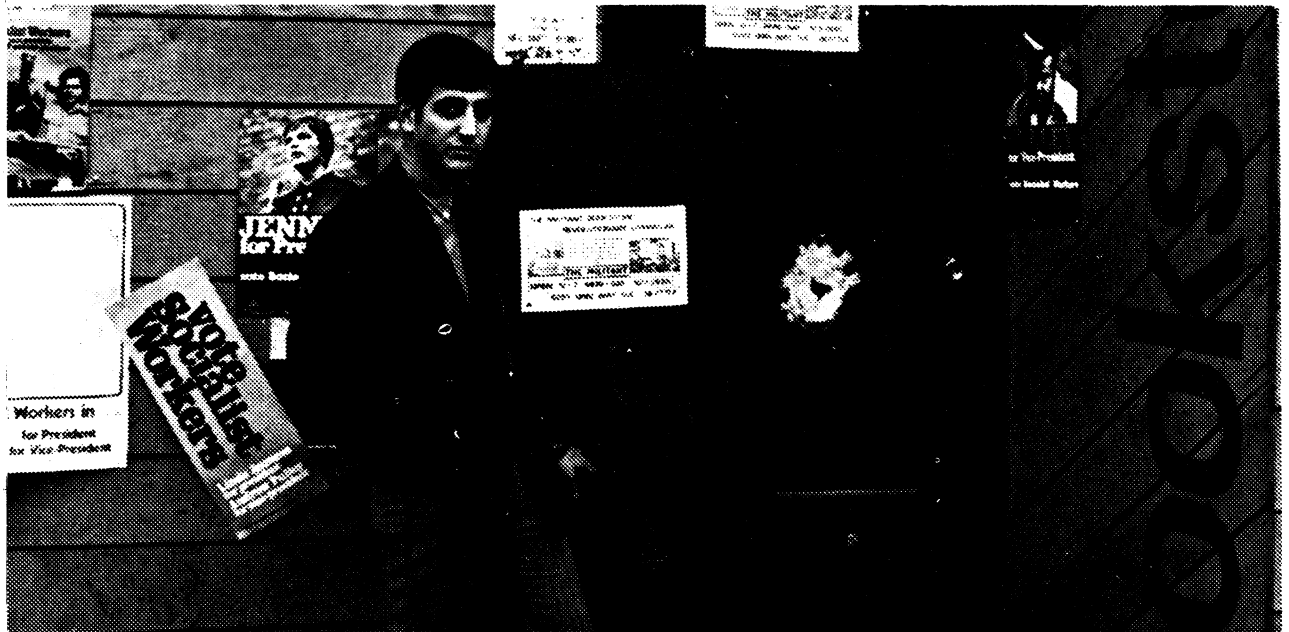
In other words, the illegal attacks against the socialists were not to be terminated at all—only the formal designation of the program would change.

The memo explains that prior to October 1967 the FBI operations against the SWP were "supervised as an adjunct of the Bureau's counterintelligence program directed against the communists, the Klan, and hate-type groups." At the present time, the memo said, actions against the socialists were being directed by "the substantive desk responsible for handling the investigation of the SWP."

Stepped-up harassment

This would indicate that rather than deescalating its harassment of the SWP, the FBI was stepping up its disruptive activities, by establishing a special unit in charge of "investigation of the SWP."

In this sense the memo also sheds light on the other COINTELPRO programs, which the FBI claims it abolished in 1971. It can be assumed that the "termination" of these COINTELPROs also resulted merely in a shift of illegal activities to a different desk or department.



Robin David, SWP candidate for governor of Washington in 1972, points to holes from shotgun blast that ripped Seattle SWP headquarters in September 1972. This terrorist attack—never solved by police—fits pattern of 'disruptive action' FBI decided to continue after 1969 'as deemed appropriate.'

The FBI memo on the SWP also reveals that one of the aims of the program was to "cause disruption *within* the SWP." (Emphasis added.) Previously, the FBI has stated that the objective of the program was simply "to alert the public to the nature and activities of the SWP and thus to neutralize the SWP."

This attempt to disrupt the internal affairs of the SWP conforms with the order by J. Edgar Hoover in 1968 concerning tactics of COINTELPRO. "In every instance," Hoover wrote, "consideration should be given to disrupting the organized activity of these groups and no opportunity should be missed to capitalize upon organizational and personal conflicts with their leadership."

The 1969 memo on the SWP does not describe any of the specific tactics used against the socialists. But it does report that from October 1968 to October 1969, "four proposals have been considered with three being approved by the Bureau. No significant tangible results have been reported to date."

This memo is the only new document that was released by the FBI in its latest response to interrogatories from the SWP and YSA. The government balked at providing a whole series of documents that were requested concerning the "SWP Disruption Program." These include:

- Memorandums on the tactics and scope of the program;
- All reports on progress of the program and actions taken by agents working in the program;
- Documents on the "Communist Party, USA, Counterintelligence Program," which had been cited in other government memos as a model for COINTELPRO-type activities.

What FBI wants to hide

The basic argument offered by the FBI for not providing these documents, which are clearly relevant to the case, is that:

"... production would expose confidential informants, would disclose intra-governmental documents reflecting advisory opinions, recommendations and deliberations comprising part of a process by which governmental decisions were formulated, would disclose investigative files and techniques of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and would prejudice, harm or embarrass persons who are not parties to the litigation. Further, documents requested may be subject to a formal claim of executive privilege."

But if the FBI's harassment of the SWP is legal, as the government claims, what harm could come from revealing "investigative techniques" or "advisory opinions"? Who would be "harmed" or "embarrassed"?

Clearly the FBI wants these documents kept secret because they would offer new proof that the activities directed against the SWP are not legal, and furthermore, have continued to the present day, despite official "termination." Why else would the FBI fear the exposure of its "confidential informants," unless at least some of these informants continue to function in the SWP and YSA?

Herbert Jordan, one of the attorneys representing the SWP and YSA in the suit, told *The Militant* a request will be filed soon for "an order com-

PELLING the FBI to produce all the information it has refused to turn over thus far about the disruption program and other programs that may shed light on the disruption program."

Jordan also noted that the government has pending a motion to dismiss Nixon, one of the defendants in the suit, on the grounds of presidential immunity. "The government is expected to expand this motion to one asking for dismissal of the whole case," Jordan said.

He pointed out that since the pace of court activity slows down in the summer, it is not clear when these motions will be heard.

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) is raising funds and building support for the socialists' suit. For more information, contact the PRDF at 156 Fifth Ave., Suite 703, New York, N.Y. 10010. Telephone: (212) 691-3270.

Text of memo

To: Mr. W.C. Sullivan Date: 10-9-69
From: C.D. Brennan
Subject: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP)
INTERNAL SECURITY—SOCIALIST
WORKERS PARTY DISRUPTION
PROGRAM

Purpose:

To secure approval for discontinuance [sic] of our disruptive program against the SWP to eliminate paper work.

Observations:

Captioned program was initiated on October 12, 1961 to cause disruption within the SWP and to alert the public to the organization's subversive character. Prior to October, 1967, this program was supervised as an adjunct of the Bureau's counterintelligence program directed against the communists, the Klan, and hate-type groups. Currently, this program is being supervised by the substantive desk responsible for handling the investigation of the SWP. Field is not required to submit status letters and potential counterintelligence actions are handled on an individual basis.

Since the last evaluation of this program in October, 1968, four proposals have been considered with three being approved by the Bureau. No significant tangible results have been reported to date.

RECOMMENDATION:

In order to eliminate paper work wherever possible, it is recommended that captioned disruptive action be discontinued as a program. In the future, the disruptive action directed against the SWP will be handled on an individual case basis as deemed appropriate.

1—Mr. W.C. Sullivan
1—Mr. C.D. Brennan
1—Mr. L.A. Crescioli

LAC:kle
(4)

Socialists launch offensive against campaign 'reforms'

By LINDA JENNESS

NEW YORK—The Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) announced a major national challenge to the constitutionality of the federal campaign "reform" law at a news conference here June 11.

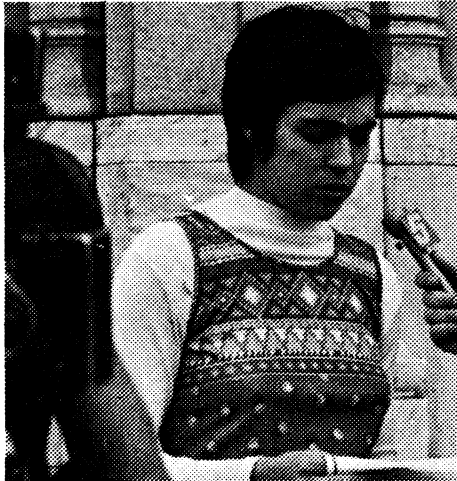
The national campaign committee, along with Socialist Workers campaign committees in 15 states, have refused to turn over to the government the names and addresses of campaign contributors as required by the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.

"The basis for our refusal to comply with this aspect of the law," Debby Bustin, cochairwoman of the campaign committee, told reporters, "is the widespread and well-documented harassment of our members and campaign supporters by the federal government."

"The government is, in effect," she said, "asking us to supply them with names and addresses of contributors who will only become new targets for their harassment. It has been proven now, beyond any doubt, that the government considers support for the Socialist Workers Party an offense to be punished by illegal surveillance, attempts at intimidation, and job discrimination."

Holding up a stack of documents compiled by the Political Rights Defense Fund detailing more than 200 cases of recent government harassment of supporters of socialist election campaigns, Bustin said, "The government can hardly claim the 'right' to snoop, pry, and attempt to intimidate us, and then ask us to help them do so!"

The 1971 Federal Election Campaign Act, which took effect in April 1972, requires campaign committees to turn over to the government the names and addresses of all contributors of more than \$100, as well as names of those receiving money spent by the committee. In addition, records must be kept of the names of all con-



Debby Bustin and Maceo Dixon, cochairpersons of Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee. Bustin, at news conference, denounced campaign finance laws as a 'hoax' aimed at strengthening political monopoly of Democrats and Republicans.



Militant/Joel Aber

tributors of more than \$10. The latest reports were required on June 10.

In lieu of complying with the disclosure provisions of the law, attorneys Joel Gora and Paul Chevigny, on behalf of the socialist campaign committees, filed a letter with the clerk of the House and the secretary of the Senate—the officials responsible for enforcing the law. This letter (see facing page) explains why the campaign committees are not complying with the disclosure provisions, and requests a hearing to determine whether or not they must comply.

If the hearing is denied, or if a hearing is held and results in a ruling against the socialists, the ACLU will immediately file suit in federal court in Washington, D.C. This suit will seek a court ruling that the law, as applied to the Socialist Workers campaign committees, is unconstitutional.

Up until now, the socialist campaign committees have complied with all the law's requirements. They will continue to comply with those provisions that do not involve turning over names and addresses of individuals.

When asked by a reporter if she

didn't think the "reforms" should be supported because they would "expose the real source of funding for the Democrats and Republicans," Bustin replied:

'Reforms' a hoax

"Absolutely not. The claim that these laws are going to end big business control of the capitalist parties is a complete hoax. The Democratic and Republican parties can't be transformed into instruments representing the majority of Americans—least of all by some new regulatory laws that the capitalists themselves will enforce."

"In fact," continued Bustin, "far from ending corruption, these laws are perpetuating the most corrupt aspect of American politics: the monopoly maintained by the twin parties of capital on political action in this country."

"These laws are designed to strengthen popular illusions in these parties," she said, "illusions that are being undercut by Watergate, inflation, and other problems the capitalists have no real solutions for. And, in case these illusions don't do the trick, these laws throw up new, serious obstacles in the road of independent political action by working people, Blacks, Chicanos, and others."

Citing the opposition by the California AFL-CIO to the campaign "reform" initiative passed in California on June 4, Bustin pointed out that these laws are aimed not just at smaller parties but at the union movement as well.

"Of course, today," Bustin said, "the union officialdom misuses the political power of the unions by supporting Democrats and Republicans. That mistaken policy must be turned around by the labor movement itself. We are absolutely opposed to any government interference with union political action."

ACLU view

Joel Gora, staff counsel for the ACLU, explained at the news conference why the ACLU is taking this action on behalf of the socialist campaign committees. He said the ACLU believes that because of the history of governmental harassment, "these campaign organizations cannot constitutionally be compelled to disclose their membership lists, their contributors, or the precise nature of their expenditures where there is a potential for harassment flowing from that disclosure."

Gora cited the First and Fourth Amendments to the Constitution as the constitutional basis for the challenge. These two amendments, taken together, protect the right of "associational privacy of controversial organi-

Continued on page 26

ACLU backs challenge in Wash.

By GARY JOHNSON

SEATTLE—"The adherents of the Socialist Workers cause have been the targets of substantial government harassment. Disclosure of the identity of supporters only serves to expose people to the risk of continued harassment. Disclosure poses the very real danger that people will refrain from supporting candidates." These were the words of Lauren Selden, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union of Washington at a news conference here June 10.

Selden was announcing the ACLU's intention to represent the 1974 Socialist Workers Washington State Campaign Committee in an effort to obtain an exemption from provisions of the state's Public Disclosure Law. This law is one of the nation's strictest. The exemption is being sought to the provisions that require the Socialist Workers campaign committee to turn over to the government the names and addresses of all contributors of \$5 or more to the campaign, and to keep records of anyone who donates more than \$1.

Also speaking at the news conference, which was held at the ACLU office, was Clare Fraenzl, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Fraenzl pointed out many incidents of government harassment of SWP campaign supporters, including the systematic gathering in Washington state by the FBI of names of all persons signing nominating papers to put the SWP on the ballot.

"In face of continued harassment by city, state, and federal agencies," she declared, "complying with these requirements would be tantamount to giving the government a ready-made 'enemies list' for further harassment."

The Washington state executive board of the ACLU had voted unanimously June 8, after several hours of discussion, to support the Socialist Workers campaign committee in its challenge to the disclosure requirement.

Unlike the federal campaign financing law, the state law contains provisions for exemptions. The law provides that the Public Disclosures Commission may, after a hearing, "suspend or modify any of the reporting requirements hereunder in a particular case if it finds that literal application of this Act were to manifest unreasonable hardship and if it also finds that such suspension or modification will not frustrate the purposes of the Act."



Lauren Selden, executive director of Wash. ACLU, and Clare Fraenzl, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, announce plans to challenge state's disclosure laws.

Chomsky supports action

The following is a statement from Noam Chomsky, professor at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in support of the ACLU challenge, on behalf of the Socialist Workers campaign committees, to the campaign "reform" law.

For well over a year, the mass media have been preoccupied with the Watergate exposures and their ramifications. These are serious enough, but the unpleasant truth is that they are minor in comparison with other measures routinely undertaken by the government to suppress political dissent and to disrupt and demoralize political groups that depart from the general political consensus. The actions taken against the Socialist Workers Party since 1961 are a case in point.

As we now know from FBI documents, these actions were originally taken in response to the effort of the Socialist Workers Party to engage openly in the electoral process. The measures of disruption and repression exposed in the series of FBI documents that have been made public, directed against the Socialist Workers Party, Black Nationalist groups, and the New Left in general, far exceed in scale anything charged to the Watergate conspira-

tors, and touch on far more serious issues of democratic principle.

In the context of these actions and policies, it is unthinkable that the Socialist Workers Party should be compelled to reveal the names of contributors and supporters, thus subjecting them to harassment and retaliation by government authorities. The disclosure requirement may be legitimate, but only on the condition that the government and its agencies respect the democratic right of dissent and free political organization. But, as the record makes clear, these principles are not accepted by government authorities. Consequently, the disclosure requirement cannot properly be enforced.

For these reasons, I fully support the refusal of the Socialist Workers Party to comply with the disclosure requirement of the Federal Election Campaign Act. Further, I hope that the press will break its virtual silence concerning the compelling documentation of government misconduct presented since December 1973, in the series of FBI documents that have been released on Court order, and will begin to pay some serious attention to the violations of democratic principle that these documents reveal, as well as those violations alleged in the suit of the Socialist Workers Party.

ACLU defends socialists' refusal to give names of contributors to gov't

Following are major excerpts from the letter sent June 7 by the American Civil Liberties Union, on behalf of 24 Socialist Workers Party campaign committees, to the clerk of the House and the secretary of the Senate.

The purpose of this letter is to explain why the above-mentioned organizations cannot comply with certain of the disclosure requirements imposed by the [Federal Election Campaign] act.

These 1974 Socialist Workers Party committees have been organized to support a number of candidates, nominated by the Socialist Workers Party, for election to federal and state office throughout the United States. . . .

All of these candidates are running on the Socialist Workers Party platform, which seeks to replace capitalism in the United States with socialism. The Socialist Workers Party has participated in electoral politics since it was founded in 1938, and has nominated candidates for public office at all levels of election since 1948. In the most recent presidential election, its presidential candidate, Linda Jenness, received more than 96,000 votes. In that year the Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate appeared on ballots in 23 states.

Pattern of harassment

Nevertheless, it has been a persistent pattern that individuals associated and identified with Socialist Workers Party activities in any way—as candidates, contributors, workers, members, or supporters—have been the target of official and unofficial government harassment, surveillance, violence, interrogations, discrimination, deprivation of employment, and general denial of rights.

For example, prior to June 4, the Socialist Workers Party was designated as a "subversive" organization by the United States Attorney General, pursuant to Executive Orders 9835 and 10450. Although the Attorney General's "list" itself was abolished, there is no reason to doubt that the Socialist Workers Party is included in the new, secret list of 52 organizations under FBI "investigation." As a consequence of this listing, persons associated with the SWP have been threatened with or subjected to the loss of government employment, have been given adverse selective service classifications or military discharges, and have been the subject of continued FBI surveillance and harassment. This has taken the form of thousands of official visits to and interrogations of employers, co-workers, neighbors, landlords, roommates, and relatives and friends of persons associated or affiliated with Socialist Workers Party activities, including electoral activities.

Frequently during such visits, FBI agents have characterized the Socialist Workers Party as "dangerous" and "illegal" and have tried to intimidate, directly or indirectly, supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and their relatives, friends, co-workers and others. FBI agents have repeatedly attempted to persuade or coerce people into discontinuing or severing their business or personal relationship with those who have indicated support for the Socialist Workers Party or Socialist Workers candidates.

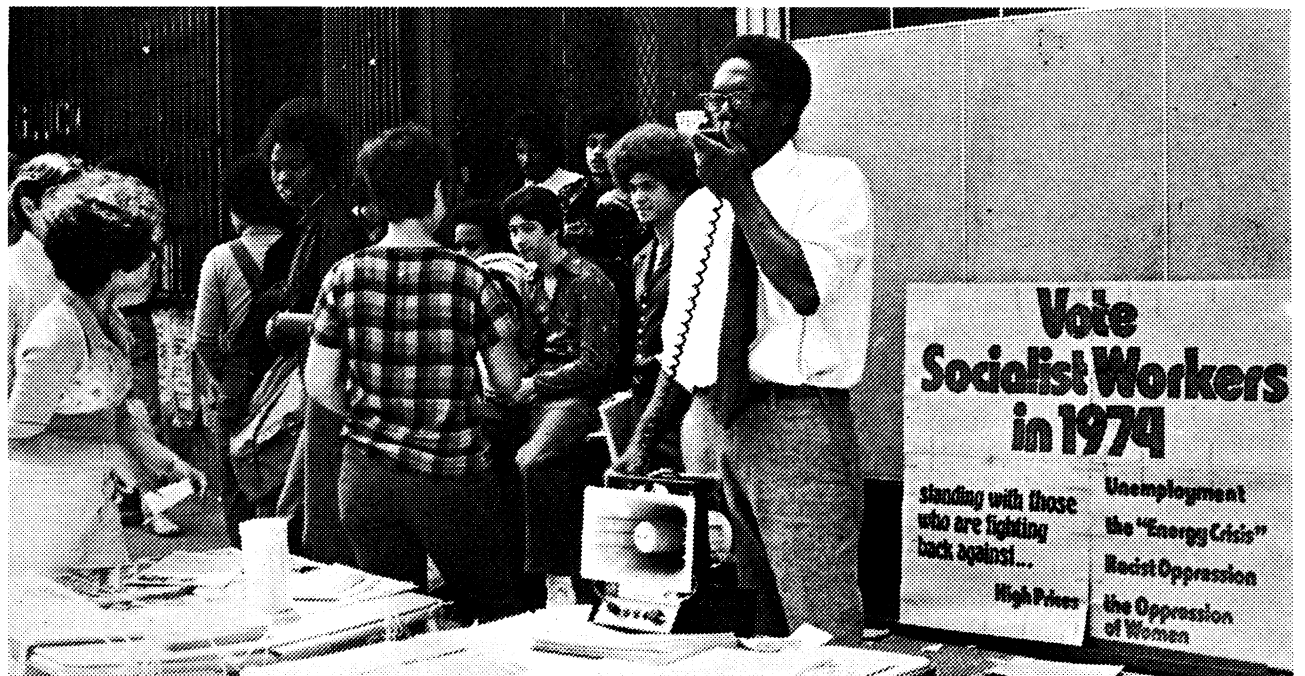
Based on official government documents that have recently come to light, and on extensive documentation compiled by the Socialist Workers Party, there can be no doubt that this harassment is part of a systematic and sweeping official government program to provide blanket surveillance of the Socialist Workers Party and its supporters and to intimidate members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party from engaging in political activity.

'SWP Disruption Program'

Indeed, the Government has admitted the existence of an FBI "SWP Disruption Program" as part of its "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO). In a directive from J. Edgar Hoover initiating this program in 1961, the FBI states:

"The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has, over the past several years, been openly espousing its line on a local and national basis through running candidates for public office and strongly directing and/or supporting such causes as Castro's Cuba and integration problems arising in the South. . . ."

It is clear from this directive that the electoral activities of the Socialist Workers Party, which



Militant/Sam Manuel

Socialists campaign in New York City. ACLU letter says harassment of socialists is 'part of systematic and sweeping official government program' aimed at discouraging members and supporters from engaging in political activity.

are protected under the Constitution, are viewed by the Government as the basis for stepped-up harassment, surveillance, and other "Counter-intelligence" operations against the Socialist Workers Party.

The far-reaching extent of the FBI's "Counter-intelligence" operations was graphically illustrated when it came to public attention recently that a high school student in New Jersey became the subject of an intensive FBI inquiry merely as a result of having written a letter to the Socialist Workers Party headquarters seeking information for a school assignment. Her letter was filtered through a "mail cover" maintained on the national headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, and as a result, FBI agents visited her school, relatives, neighbors and others seeking information on her political activities and views. . . .

Attempted intimidation

As a consequence of this pattern, compliance with the Act's requirements of disclosure of contributions and receipts poses a real threat of deterring and intimidating persons from associating with, contributing to and supporting the various candidates and campaign organizations. Many potential contributors, aware that a contribution of more than \$10 (even less, under some state requirements) will result in their identification on government files and public records as a supporter of Socialist Workers candidates, will be extremely reluctant to make such contributions, thus depriving the candidates and organizations of such support and thereby intruding upon their right of associational privacy. If these individuals do contribute anyway, disclosure of their identities to the government will subject them to all the varieties of harassment outlined above and impair their right to engage in and support political activities in an anonymous manner. . . .

Given these various effects of compliance with the Act's disclosure requirements, it is submitted that the imposition of such requirements on the Socialist Workers campaign organizations and candidates is an impermissible and unjustified infringement of the right of associational privacy and political anonymity.

The Government cannot on the one hand assert the right to bug, wiretap, interrogate, fire from government employment and otherwise harass supporters of the Socialist Workers Party, and on the other hand require that the Socialist Workers campaign committees turn over to the Government the names, addresses and places of employment of additional targets for such treatment. It seems obvious that the Government cannot have it both ways. The Socialist Workers campaign committees would have no objection to complying with the law if the type of harassment outlined in this letter were to be stopped, and the Government to recognize the democratic rights of supporters of the Socialist Workers Party to engage in political activity without interference. However, until such time as the government changes its policy, the Socialist Workers campaign committees cannot be com-

pelled to disclose information that can only facilitate the violation of the rights of the individuals involved.

Supreme Court precedents

The United States Supreme Court has long shielded controversial organizations from being required to disclose the identities of their members, contributors, and supporters, when such disclosure may have the effect of discouraging such activity and support. The Court has done so in recognition of the bitter historical struggle to shield controversial political associations and organizations from compulsory disclosure to the State. . . . the courts have ruled that the state may not obtain information about members, contributors or supporters of controversial organizations or associations, unless there is a showing of the most compelling governmental interest in the information sought to be disclosed. The rationale for these rulings has been that only such a showing of paramount public necessity can ever justify the damaging consequences and impairment of associational privacy which disclosure entails. . . .

These principles are equally applicable to controversial associations or organizations whose advocacy takes the form of electoral activity. . . .

As we have indicated, it is our view that such disclosure requirements cannot constitutionally be imposed upon controversial political associations or organizations. Should you disagree with our analysis, we would welcome the opportunity to have these claims considered by you as supervisory officers under the Act. . . .

We look forward to an early response so that, should you disagree with our position, the hearings required by statute can be arranged expeditiously.

/s/Joel M. Gora

Staff Counsel

American Civil Liberties Union

/s/Paul Chevigny

Staff Counsel

New York Civil Liberties Union



Militant/John Gray

Refusing to be intimidated, socialists in Los Angeles hold news conference following CIA-linked attack on campaign headquarters in May 1970.

Unions challenge 'Proposition 9'

Calif. campaign 'reform': threat to liberties

By MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

On June 4, California voters passed Proposition 9, the so-called political reform initiative, by a margin of more than 2 to 1. The next day the executive secretary of the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO, announced that organized labor would file a suit challenging the constitutionality of the lobbyist restrictions contained in the new law.

Proposition 9 was a lengthy (22,000-word) ballot proposition to strengthen existing campaign disclosure laws, curtail the activity of lobbyists, and create a powerful new commission with authority to oversee political activity. It requires that all campaign contributions of \$50 or more be reported and says that the state will audit the financial books of all political committees.

In dozens of full-page newspaper ads and extensive radio and television time, the liberal backers of the proposition claimed it would "return the government to the people" and prevent a Watergate from ever happening in California.

Edmund (Jerry) Brown authored the proposition as secretary of state, and Common Cause spent huge sums selling it to the public. No comparable

exposure was given to the counter-arguments that Proposition 9 was an unconstitutional bill that would do nothing to stop control of the government by big money interests.

The state AFL-CIO was the principal force in the fight against Proposition 9. They concentrated their fire on the provision outlawing campaign contributions by lobbyists.

According to John Henning, executive secretary of the California Labor Federation, Proposition 9's definition of "lobbyist" includes more than 90 percent of all the unions in California. Driving unions out of American politics would, in Henning's words, "give persons of wealth unchallenged control of candidate financing."

Olga Rodriguez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California, expressed her solidarity with labor's fight against Proposition 9. "The proposition would put severe curbs on labor's political activities," she said, "with no real restrictions on the influence of big corporations and their owners. Business executives can give unlimited amounts to candidates and elected officials under the law, and they have shown considerable expertise in circumventing the law besides. The ruling class has many ways of influencing legislators, starting with the fact that they own the Democratic and Republican parties lock, stock, and barrel."

Rodriguez continued, "The Socialist Workers Party will help fight against any attempt to drive labor out of politics. In fact, we think that organized labor ought to do much more, ought to break with Democratic and Republican politicians and build a labor party."

"We would like to see the trade unions run their own candidates for office," she said, "and use union funds to finance the campaigns of genuine labor representatives—a step that would be ruled out by Proposition 9."

Organized labor was unanimous in its opposition to the proposition. The



Militant/Harry Ring

Proposition 9 will force groups organizing for passage of Equal Rights Amendment to give detailed financial reports to state.

California Federation of Teachers, at first an endorser of the measure, voted overwhelmingly May 4 to reverse its position and oppose Proposition 9. They were especially concerned about the constitutional questions, citing the fact that Proposition 9 violated rights guaranteed by the First, Fifth, and Fourteenth Amendments.

Organized labor is not the only group whose rights are jeopardized by Proposition 9. Parties such as the Socialist Workers Party and Raza Unida Party—already hindered by California's reactionary election code—will find running candidates even more difficult now because of the mountain of paper work required under Proposition 9.

Hundreds of other organizations not affected by existing campaign laws will

fall into Proposition 9's net.

Under the new law, the following are the kinds of organizations that will suddenly become "political committees" and be required to file numerous detailed financial reports and in many cases membership lists:

- A student organization that puts out leaflets and rents buses for a demonstration in Sacramento against tuition hikes.

- A Black organization that spends \$250 on a mailing to encourage people to write members of the state legislature to urge support for legislation extending civil rights.

- A Farm Workers support group that buys a newspaper ad against a piece of strikebreaking legislation introduced by agribusiness interests.

Most Democratic Party candidates followed the lead of Jerry Brown, Democratic candidate for governor, who made Proposition 9 a cornerstone of his campaign.

But a statewide convention of the Young Democrats opposed the measure, expressing the fear that their own organization might be in trouble if it passed. The newly elected president warned that "smaller, under-financed groups as well as many minority and special cause groups may find it difficult to compete with operations having access to sophisticated lawyers, accountants, and media specialists. Many youths, especially those working for unpopular [sic] causes, will rebel at the thought of having their names and their employers' names recorded in a Sacramento political data bank."

The Socialist Workers candidates have announced their support for labor's challenge to the constitutionality of Proposition 9. They will continue campaigning to expose the fraudulent character of Proposition 9, and other so-called campaign reforms, warning Californians not to expect anything good to come out of an "anti-Watergate" measure cooked up by the Watergaters themselves.



Militant/Walter Lippmann

Socialist gubernatorial candidate Olga Rodriguez vows continued fight against undemocratic 'reform' measure.

Price sisters victorious, end 205-day fast

By DAVE FRANKEL

The 205-day hunger strike of Marion and Dolours Price, Irish republican prisoners serving life sentences in London's Brixton jail, ended June 7.

The Price sisters apparently have won their demand that they be transferred to a prison within Northern Ireland to serve out their sentences among other republican prisoners and close to their relatives and friends.

Their decision to end the hunger strike came after a series of meetings with representatives of the British Labour government. The London *Times* reported that they would be transferred to Northern Ireland within a year. The following day three other Irish political prisoners in British jails also ended their hunger strikes, which had been carried out with the same demand and which also appear to have been successful.

But for Michael Gaughan, a sixth Irish republican prisoner, it was too late. Gaughan, 24, had been sentenced to seven years imprisonment in 1971 for conspiring to rob a London bank for the IRA. He died June 3.

The British government claims that he died of pneumonia after refusing food for 65 days. Gaughan's family insists that he died after prison doctors injured him fatally with a force-feeding tube.

In an attempt to break their will,



Relatives of Irish republican hunger strikers lead protest demonstration in London. At center are sister and father of Price sisters.

The British government subjected the Price sisters to the torture of force-feeding from Dec. 3 to May 18. The other republicans, who began their protest later, were also subjected to this torment, during which the victim's mouth is clamped open and a greased tube is forced down to the stomach.

The force-feeding of the Price sisters ended May 18, when it appeared that they would die. From May 18 to June 7 they accepted nothing but water.

The broad public support for the Price sisters' demand, and fear of their

imminent death, forced the Wilson government to back down from its previous refusal to transfer them.

The sentiment in support of the Irish struggle was demonstrated in central London June 9 when a demonstration—reported by the *Washington Post* as 800 strong, and timed to coincide with Gaughan's burial—threaded through the streets.

The outcry over the torture of the Price sisters and such setbacks for British policy as the fall of the Northern Ireland government May 28 have provoked growing opposition to the

imperialist presence in Northern Ireland. The conservative financial weekly *The Economist* warned of "an increasing revulsion in Britain against any continued involvement in Ulster in any guise."

Although both Labour Party and Tory members of parliament continue to support the steps necessary to maintain the British foothold in Ireland, the growing demand for withdrawal of the 16,500 British troops there has begun to be reflected in Parliament. Bernard Nossiter wrote in the June 7 *Washington Post*, "... Britons in and out of Parliament will not much longer support the present state of affairs."

He quoted Jeremy Thorpe, the Liberal Party leader, who pointed out, "There is a limit to the amount of money and the amount of troops that the electorate of this country is prepared to pour in. . . . I believe that the people of this country are becoming very intolerant and very angry."

The capitalist press and the British politicians are trying to present London as a long-suffering samaritan interested only in compromise and the good of Ireland. The truth is that the withdrawal of British troops would be the first step toward genuine self-determination and the reunification of all Ireland—the only solution to the conflict there.

Chicano bomb victim treated like criminal

By PETER SEIDMAN

DENVER—Threats to press charges against Antonio Alcantar, sole surviving victim of two murderous bomb blasts in Boulder, Colo., indicate that authorities here are continuing their efforts to portray the victims of the explosions as the criminals. Six people—four of whom were Chicano activists—were killed in the blasts, which took place in parked cars May 27 and 29.

Antonio Alcantar was seriously wounded in the May 29 explosion that took the lives of Florencio Granado, Heriberto Terán, and Francisco Dougherty. Reyes Martínez, Neva Romero, and Una Jaakola were victims of the May 27 blast.

An armed police guard has been clamped on Alcantar's hospital room. Boulder District Attorney Alex Hunter has told the press that charges are being contemplated against Alcantar. Hunter would not elaborate on the statement. The *Rocky Mountain News*, Denver's daily morning paper, however, has done as much as possible to portray the six deaths as resulting from the premature explosions of bombs being worked on by the Chicanos.

Alcantar, just before undergoing surgery that resulted in the amputation of one leg, told Boulder County sheriff's detective Gordon Epp, according to the *News*, that he didn't know anybody in the car and that he had simply been hitching a ride.

Now the *News* is attempting to use a new report indicating that Alcantar and Heriberto Terán had in fact been close friends, to imply that Alcantar

was covering up some illegal activity when he spoke to Epp. This story contradicts the *News*'s own statement that at the time Alcantar spoke to Epp he was in "a near delirious" condition.

The police conducted a search of Alcantar's home after the explosion. Although none of what they found has been made public, the *News* was quick to report a police "source" that claimed the things taken from the house included materials that might be used to make a bomb.

How unreliable such "sources" are, however, is indicated by another story that reveals how the media have joined with the police to cast a sinister light on all those associated with the victims of the two explosions.

On May 31, police arrested Rita Carmen Montero, a close friend of Heriberto Terán. The June 1 *News* reported that "a timing device which the police said could be used in a bomb was found in her car." This article appeared on the front page.

The following day, the *News*, in a page five article, was forced to report that "the 'timing device' police said they found in her car was an ordinary egg timer."

In the wake of the two Boulder bombings police there have carried out a series of raids aimed at intimidating Chicano activists and attempting to link the explosions to movement organizations.

Ben Romero, who had been a member of Boulder UMAS (United Mexican-American Students) and is now an activist with the Apostles for Jus-

tice in Greeley, Colo., told *The Militant* that police now claim they have "misplaced" the evidence found in raids carried out on homes of the victims of the explosions.

Romero, who had been a roommate of Neva Romero, described one such raid carried out by police on his apartment following the May 27 blast that took Neva Romero's life. At 2:15 a.m., after surrounding the house, police armed with pistols, rifles, and shotguns knocked on the door. They created a great disorder in the house, Romero said, but found only some literature. The literature was confiscated despite the fact that literature was not listed on their warrant as the

purpose for the search.

María Serna of the Chicano Liberation Defense Committee told *The Militant* that agents of the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms division of the Treasury Department—an agency well known for trying to turn victims of explosions into criminals—have also carried out a number of raids in Denver at the homes of Chicanos.

The actions of the police and federal agents underline the importance of reaffirming the calls made by Chicano leaders for a full public inquiry into the bombings.

On June 9 about 100 people participated in a memorial march in Denver for the victims of the explosions.



Remnants of car in which three Chicanos were killed

'They were the kind we cannot afford to lose'

By ALBERT BALDIVIA

I knew three of the six people who were killed in the Boulder, Colo., bombings.

Anyone who knew these people realizes how unbelievable it is to think that they accidentally blew themselves up tinkering with bombs, as the po-

Now living in Los Angeles, Baldivia grew up in Colorado and participated in the Chicano movement there. He joined the Young Socialist Alliance and taught for several years at the Escuela Tlatelolco, the Chicano school sponsored by the Denver Crusade for Justice.

lice and major newspapers have suggested. These were all rational movement activists, not the type to be involved in terrorist activities. I am convinced they were murdered.

I got to know Florencio "Freddie" Granado while trying to organize a chapter of UMAS (United Mexican-American Students) at Adams State College in Alamosa, Colo., where I

went to school. Freddie was organizing an UMAS chapter at the University of Colorado at Boulder.

Freddie and Richard Falcón were the ones who established UMAS. Richard was later killed by a gas station owner in Orogrande, New Mexico, on his way to the El Paso, Texas, La Raza Unida Party convention in 1972.

Freddie was a president of UMAS at Boulder and played a big role in the Chicano struggle there. The big fight at Boulder by Chicanos is for parity, for a Chicano student enrollment equal to the Chicano population in the state, which is 10 percent. At the school only 1 or 2 percent are Chicanos.

The administration really went after Freddie for his role in this fight. They put him on probation and finally expelled him. They even got an injunction to keep him from returning to campus, and they tried to prevent him from getting accepted at any other college in the state.

But the Crusade for Justice school in Denver, the Escuela Tlatelolco, has an accredited college program and, of course, he was accepted there.

Freddie became active in the Raza Unida Party and ran for state board of regents on the Raza Unida ticket in 1972. He got more than 22,000 votes, 3 percent, which was more than any of the other RUP candidates in Colorado.

For a time Freddie taught at Tlatelolco and was active on Denver's North Side. He edited a community newspaper, *El Escritor*.

Freddie was highly regarded in the movement. People knew it was not easy to start UMAS, and that Freddie and Richard Falcón were among the first to really stand up and fight for it.

Freddie is survived by his wife and a son, who is about four years old.

I met Neva Romero in the summer of 1972. She was very young, only 21 when she was killed. She was a wonderful person.

Neva came from Ignacio, a little town of about 3,000. When she came to the university in Boulder she joined UMAS right away and soon was elected to the governing board. She was also elected a student senator.

Neva was very political. She was always speaking out about the injustices the Chicano suffers and about the problems of Native Americans. And when she talked, people would listen.

Neva was a Chicano nationalist and a member of the Raza Unida Party. She was also a socialist. She read *The Militant* for a number of years and was especially interested in the coverage of the Chicano movement and the articles about women's liberation.

Neva agreed with the Young Socialist Alliance on many questions, and at one point came very close to joining the YSA.

In 1973, after a year in Mexico, she returned to Boulder, where she devoted herself to United Farm Workers support activity. She organized

picketing at Safeway and kept watch on the university cafeteria to make sure there was no scab lettuce.

I first met Reyes Martínez in Alamosa. We went to Adams State together. He was involved with UMAS but didn't really become politically active until he went to law school at Boulder.

There he joined a Chicano law student group and became much more politically aware. He became a nationalist and got interested in the farm workers movement and the Raza Unida Party.

When Reyes was killed he was acting as a mediator, presenting student demands to the university. He was married and had a little daughter who is around three years old.

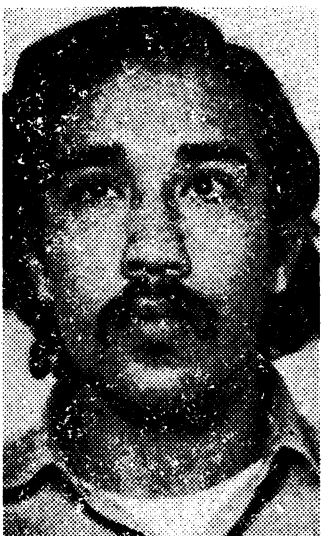
Killings like this are a terrible thing. These were real movement people and they were also very good people personally, the kind we can't afford to lose.

Granado: for 'Chicanismo'

When Freddie Granado ran for the Colorado board of regents in 1972 on the Raza Unida Party ticket, he was among the candidates interviewed by *The Militant* for an article that appeared Nov. 3, 1972. Granado told *The Militant*:

"When I say it's necessary to have a Chicano there [on the board of regents], I don't mean just the person Chicano. The ideology of *Chicanismo*, of nationalism, has to go with it.

"One reason we have this situation is because of the so-called Hispanics who are in the structure. No Democrat, no Republican — no matter what their color — can serve the true needs of the people."



Reyes Martínez (left) and Neva Romero

Auto workers convention: Officials pose no solutions to inflation, layoffs, & speedup

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—The United Auto Workers (UAW) convention that opened here June 2 adjourned a day ahead of schedule.

This doesn't mean that auto workers don't have a lot to talk about. They have. But the delegates to this convention didn't get much of an opportunity to consider the issues facing organized labor generally and their union in particular.

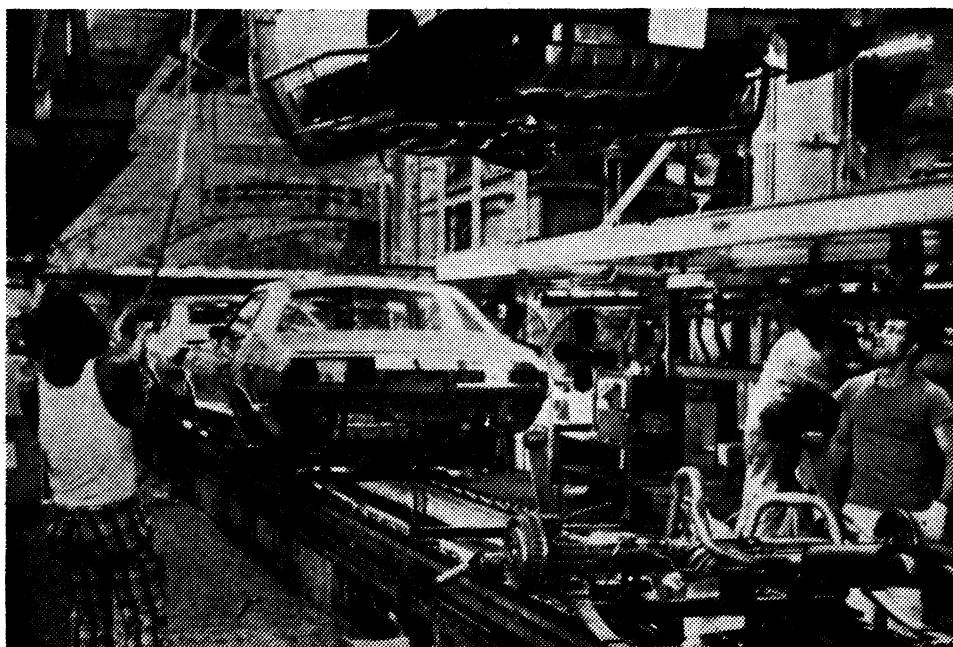
The problems that faced the six-day gathering of the 1.4 million-member union are certainly major ones. They include inflation, job speedup, wide-scale layoffs, and a contractual unemployment-benefit system with insufficient funds to pay full benefits in a period of extensive unemployment. Black and women auto workers face special problems of discriminatory practices fostered by the auto barons.

President Leonard Woodcock's report to the convention offered neither a serious analysis of these problems nor a program to deal with them.

He did offer a glowing report on union accomplishments since the previous convention, including some fast arithmetic to prove that the 3 percent wage increase received in the last contract was really 11 percent.

While the top leadership managed to divert consideration of basic problems, there were efforts by some delegates to raise these problems.

Established through stormy strike struggles in the 1930s, the UAW for a number of years enjoyed the reputation of being the most militant, democratic union in the country. But over the years this tradition became muted as the increasingly conservative of-



ficialdom further consolidated its power.

At this convention there were scattered voices of opposition and one organized opposition grouping, the United National Caucus (UNC). According to one of its members, the UNC elected about 40 of the more than 2,000 delegates to the convention.

The UNC sought to confront the officialdom on a number of basic issues. The principal leader of the group, Pete Kelly of the Detroit area, registered the group's opposition to the program of the UAW tops by running, unsuccessfully, against incumbent Leonard Woodcock for president.

The old democratic tradition of the union, coupled with an apparent sensitivity among the elected delegates to rank-and-file sentiment, did lead to one substantial confrontation between delegates and officers.

This was sparked by a proposal that the union constitution be amended to hold conventions once every three years instead of once every two as is done now. This would extend the term of national and regional officers by the same period. Originally the union held conventions and elected officers annually.

Opposition to the three-year proposal was widespread at the convention. One delegate predicted that the three-year term would give impetus

to longer-term contracts, pushing them from three years to four or five. Several charged that extension of a term of office would move the leaders even further from the rank and file.

Referring to the "lard-asses" on the platform, one delegate said that at least the members got to see their officers as elections approached, and with extension of the election period even this would be less frequent.

On a hand vote, it seemed that the delegates were fairly evenly divided on the issue, and even on a subsequent standing vote, opposition was extensive. But the chair ruled the proposal approved.

Another point of division at the convention related to the complex issue of voting rights of the skilled-trades division of the union in ratifying contract agreements.

In 1957 and again in 1966, to forestall losing many of its skilled members to competing craft unions, the UAW established autonomy for skilled-trades workers to vote separately on union agreements, leaving ambiguous in the union constitution what would happen if the skilled trades voted down an agreement approved by the assembly-line workers, who constitute the majority.

In 1973, in response to membership pressure, union officials set out to eliminate compulsory overtime in union contracts. They wound up with

an agreement that took them only a step in that direction.

This agreement was voted down by the skilled trades. Union negotiators then went back and got a revision from management that they said met the skilled trades' objections, but they did not put the revision to a vote. This is what was challenged at the convention.

There was opposition to a resolution put forward by the top union officials justifying what they had done. But the resolution was approved.

Some voice was given at the convention to the sentiment of the growing body of Arab auto workers in Detroit. The program of the United National Caucus called for ending the union's purchasing of Israeli government bonds. This demand was echoed by a group of some 50 from various opposition groupings who picketed outside the convention hall the opening day.

Guest speakers at the convention included Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley; Senator Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), who was endorsed by the union in his bid for reelection; César Chávez; and Alan Blakeney, premier of Saskatchewan, Canada. Saskatchewan is one of three Canadian provinces governed by Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party (NDP).

Leonard Woodcock explained the union's full support for the NDP. He did not explain why the union considered it correct to support a labor party in Canada but continues to support the Democrats here.

In a display of "responsible statesmanship," Woodcock took issue with George Meany's call for a "veto proof" Congress. Woodcock said that while Nixon had abused his power of veto, the veto itself was necessary to assure a "balance of power" between the president and Congress. What is needed, he said, is a "responsive and responsible" Congress. He didn't say how to get it.

With nearly a million-and-a-half members in one of the country's key industries, the UAW represents a vast reservoir of working-class power. But as the twenty-fourth constitutional convention underlined, it will take a new program and leadership to unleash that power.

UAW backs farm workers

LOS ANGELES—The Auto Workers convention unanimously agreed to continue support for the embattled United Farm Workers. A check for \$80,000 was presented to UFW President César Chávez. The union voted to continue a \$10,000 a week contribution to the UFW. It also voted continued support to the boycott of scab grapes and lettuce.

Why laid-off auto workers find 'SUB' inadequate

By FRANK LOVELL

The so-called fringe benefits in most union contracts are part of a "package deal" negotiated with employers, usually funded with monies that otherwise would have been paid directly to the workers in the form of wages.

These "fringes" include health plans, pension schemes, unemployment benefits, and other social security measures that ought to be provided by the government for all workers, but are not.

The urgent need for improved social security has forced most unions to try to compensate for the inadequacies of the government's old-age, health, and unemployment plans by providing additional protection for their own members.

Unorganized workers have no protection beyond the government's Social Security system. Under the various union plans some organized workers benefit. Most do not. The Supplemental Unemployment Benefit (SUB) plan negotiated by the United Auto Workers is an example.

The SUB plan returns up to 95 percent of straight-time pay for the limited periods of temporary layoff, up to one year.

The SUB plan was negotiated in 1955, prompted by the layoffs that hit the industry in the 1954 recession. It was touted by the UAW leadership, then headed by Walter Reuther, as a step toward a "guaranteed annual wage." Reuther put this scheme over in opposition to proposals to launch a fight for the UAW's traditional demand for a 30-hour workweek at 40-hours pay.

For almost 20 years this plan has been helpful to some auto workers who have been hit with temporary layoffs—as long as there weren't too many of them and they weren't laid off too long.

New workers with less than one year seniority never collected SUB benefits, and they are usually the ones who get laid off first.

Other workers with long seniority never collected SUB benefits because they never got laid off except when a

company moved or for some other reason closed a local plant. This has been a rather frequent occurrence in recent years.

It happened at the Borg-Warner plant in Cleveland, Ohio. Management pretended until the last that things would pick up. But in the end, the company packed up. Workers with 20 years and more seniority were the last to go. They were lucky to collect one or two SUB checks. After that they got a letter, instead, which said, "Sorry, no more money in the SUB fund."

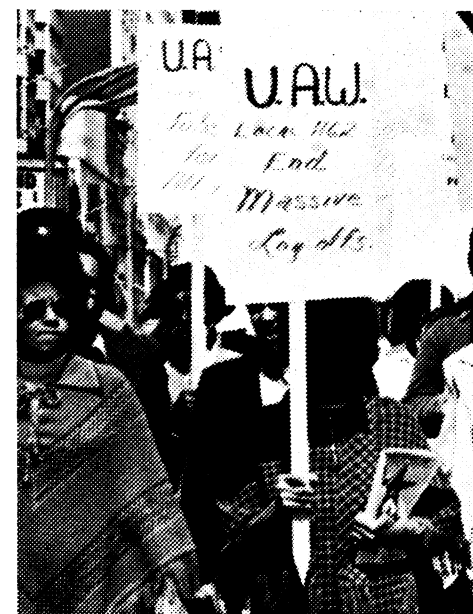
These were "exceptional" cases and the misfortune was credited to "tough luck." Little was thought about it and less was done to compensate these victims.

The way the SUB plan worked out in practice was different from the way it was originally explained to auto workers. The idea was that workers should be paid for a full year even though the giant auto corporations, because of poor planning, failed to furnish steady year-round work. It

seemed to be a good scheme for some workers in more or less normal times.

These are no longer "normal" times in the auto industry today. Some 100,000 auto workers are laid off—"in-

Continued on page 26



Militant/Bruce Bloy

200 union women meet in Northern California

By CAROLE SELIGMAN

SAN FRANCISCO—More than 200 women from 25 Northern California unions met here June 1 to discuss the problems of union women.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). CLUW is a national organization formed last March in Chicago at a conference of more than 3,000 women unionists.

Most of the women at the meeting here agreed with chairperson Betsey Blom of Department Store Employees Union and CLUW state convener Ann Lipow that the first order of business was to organize local CLUW units. These chapters will be based on agreement with CLUW's goals of organizing the unorganized, winning on-the-job affirmative action for women, increasing women's participation in all levels of the union, and ending women's second-class status in society and in the work force.

At the conference were officials from the Office and Professional Employees International Union, Communications Workers of America, American Federation of Teachers, Dining Room Employees, and Machinists. Rank-and-file participants, including several union organizers and shop stewards, came from these and other unions.

Conference participants divided into area meetings to begin the process of establishing CLUW chapters. Chapters are now under way in San Francisco, North and South Alameda County, Sacramento, and the San Jose area.

A two-hour break in the middle of the conference allowed the women to participate in a demonstration at the state building here against the nullification of protective laws for women by the State Industrial Welfare Commission.

This commission has attempted to deprive California workers, primarily those in nonunionized industries, of the right to an eight-hour day with overtime after eight hours, rest breaks, employer-provided sanitary facilities, and other needed protection. It was announced at the demonstration that a suit filed by the State Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, has prevented the new antilabor regulations from taking effect yet.

After the rally, an ugly incident occurred when some of the rally organizers, led by members of the Revolutionary Union (RU), formed a goon squad and assaulted members of the Militant Action Caucus of the Communications Workers of America and

members of the Spartacist League. One of the victims of this brutal attack by the Maoist thugs had his ear lobe bitten off.

Those attacked were carrying pro-Equal Rights Amendment signs. The RU opposes the ERA, falsely claiming that the ERA is the cause of the government-employer attack on the protective laws.

When the CLUW conference reconvened, several women denounced the RU attack and reaffirmed CLUW's support for both the ERA and extension of protective legislation.

The conference heard an appeal from Jessie de la Cruz of the United Farm Workers for support for the UFW. She explained that the UFW is fight-

For editorial on the goon squad attack at San Francisco demonstration and the need for democracy in the workers movement, turn to page 10.

ing for the interests of the farm workers, to end child labor, to replace the brutal labor contractor system with a union hiring hall, and to spare the farm workers the indignity of applying for welfare by providing decent pay for their labor. The conference participants gave her a standing ovation.

The conference wrapped up with informational workshops and a short plenary session. Most participants agreed that Bay Area CLUW is off to a good start.

Twin Cities CLUW plans outreach

By ELAINE ONASCH

MINNEAPOLIS—A "Union Women's Speak-Out" was set for July 23 by the first Twin Cities-wide meeting of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

The meeting took place at the United Electrical Workers hall here June 6. Seventy-one women representing 17 unions attended. The unions with the largest representation were the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; American Federation of Teachers; and the Postal Workers Union.

A report was given on the founding convention of CLUW, and a panel of three women told of struggles in their unions for equal pay and maternity benefits.

Florine Koole, one of the panelists and an international representative of the Communications Workers of America, spoke about the \$34-million equal pay settlement the Bell system was recently forced to make. She pointed out that the money was barely a drop in the bucket compared with the enormous profits AT&T makes through their discriminatory practices.

People were welcomed to the meeting by Lillian Schultz, a member of the board of directors of United Electrical Workers Local 1139, and Dolores Elliott, a member of CLUW's national coordinating committee.

Bernadine Bryant, education director of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and one of Minnesota CLUW's state convenors, ended the meeting with remarks about the significance of CLUW. She emphasized that CLUW's goal is to change the unions so they will fight for women's rights, as well as those of other op-



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Founding CLUW convention in Chicago last March.

pressed groups.

A publicity-outreach committee was set up with the goal of informing every union woman in the state of CLUW's existence and perspective.

CLUW has been endorsed by the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, and United Electrical Workers Local 1139 and AFSCME Local 34 have made financial contributions to the local chapter.

HOUSTON—Women from six unions got together here June 3 to begin organizing a Houston chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). The women heard a report on the founding convention of CLUW and made plans for further meetings.

Unions represented were the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International, Houston Teachers Association, United Farm Workers, Papermakers and Paperworkers, United Steelworkers of America, and Retail Clerks International Association.

Chicago welfare workers stage job action

By DALE GAREE

CHICAGO—On June 3 the Illinois State Department of Public Aid increased the working hours of all Cook County public-aid workers by 15 minutes a day—a total of three weeks a year—with no additional pay.

At the same time, the right of employees to a hearing before being suspended or fired was taken away.

This brazen attack violated an agreement reached last year between the state and the Illinois Union of Social Service Employees (IUSSE), American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 2000. To get the union's agreement to merge the then-autonomous Cook County Department of Public Aid with the statewide department, the state guaranteed that all benefits won by the more highly unionized county workers would be maintained under the state administration.

The state's renegeing on this agreement is a union-busting move aimed

at disrupting the IUSSE's statewide organizing drive. It is also part of an attempt to blame welfare workers and recipients for increasing state taxes.

In response to this attack, many welfare workers who had not been active before, including those not even in the union, were boiling with anger. For the first time a number of women workers were taking the initiative, calling meetings, and organizing people to sign off work at 4:30 p.m. instead of the new time, 5 p.m.

This job action had been proposed by the union's representative council. It was successful for the first three days, with 1,500 to 1,600 workers signing out early and about the same number being "absent." A total of 5,000 workers are employed in the Cook County welfare system.

Then on the fourth day the state announced that warning notices—the first step before suspension—would be issued to all workers leaving at 4:30. As a result of this intimidation the number participating in the job action dropped to 800.

The union leadership originally proposed binding arbitration of the issues: working hours, the elimination of hearings, and docking of pay or other disciplinary actions taken in retaliation for the union's struggle.

The outcome has now been submitted to binding arbitration, but the union was forced to drop pay dockings as one of the issues to be arbitrated.

Pickets protest scab grapes

Seven hundred demonstrators in Boston and 600 in New York City greeted the first batch of scab grapes from Coachella Valley to arrive on the East Coast.

In New York, supporters of the United Farm Workers gathered at Hunts Point market, the major produce center for the area, at 5 a.m. on June 4.

Trade-union support for the picket line came from locals of the electrical workers, hospital workers, iron workers, public employees, and the Hispanic Labor Committee.

Other participating groups included the Interfaith Committee to Aid the Farm Workers, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

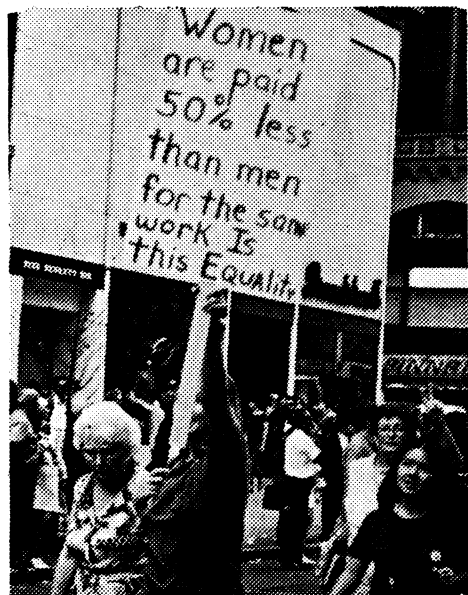
At a well-attended news conference after the demonstration it was announced that UFW President César Chávez will begin a tour of the New York City area June 27 to raise funds and build support for the striking farm workers.

The Boston picket line at Chelsea Produce Center was sponsored by the Massachusetts AFL-CIO and several local unions. Members of more than 20 unions participated.

In a related development, UFW-boycott supporters in Bellingham, Wash., recently scored a victory by forcing the Western Washington State College cafeterias to stop buying scab lettuce.

In response to the food service director's initial refusal to purchase only UFW-picked head lettuce, the United Farm Workers Support Committee launched a petition drive at the cafeteria food lines. Nearly 1,100 of the 1,900 dormitory residents with food contracts signed the petitions.

When presented with the petitions, the food service director agreed to the students' demand.



Ore. SWP candidate backs campus protests, urges more school funds

By GEORGE KONTANIS

PORTLAND—More than 15,000 Oregonians voted for candidates of the Socialist Workers Party in the "non-partisan" primary elections held May 28.

John Lemon, SWP candidate for superintendent of public instruction, received 15,622 votes, or 3.4 percent of the total, coming in sixth in a race of seven.

Robin Mace, socialist candidate for Portland city council position 3, received 3,212 votes, winding up seventh in a field of nine. Her vote was 3.2 percent of the total votes cast.

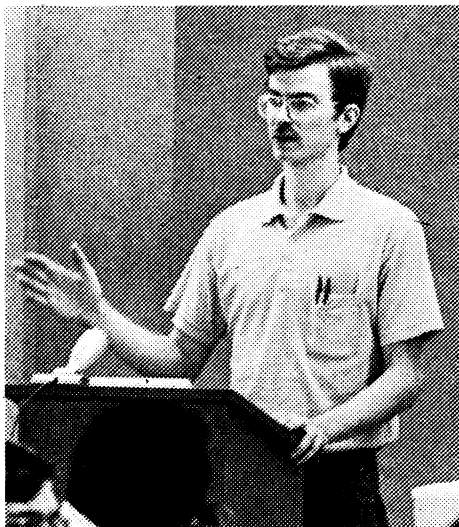
Lemon and Mace were the first socialists to be on the ballot in Oregon since 1940.

Candidates for the "nonpartisan" positions in the election are not allowed to list their party, but are differentiated by a ballot slogan. Mace's slogan was "For a socialist government; against racism, inflation and the energy crisis fraud." Lemon's slogan was "For a socialist America; free education through college for all."

Another undemocratic aspect of the election procedure is that even though several "nonpartisan" positions were being contested, sample ballots are prepared only for the Democrats and Republicans.

This practice, which discriminates against both independent voters and smaller parties, was protested by the SWP at a May 23 news conference.

In the month prior to the elections, SWP campaign supporters distributed 10,000 pieces of campaign literature and signed up 122 people as endorsers of the campaign. Among those supporting the socialist candidates was the chairperson of United Indian Stu-



John Lemon, Oregon SWP candidate for superintendent of public instruction.

dents in Higher Education, the American Indian group at Portland State University.

In addition, Robin Mace's campaign was endorsed by the United Minority Workers, a group devoted to winning preferential hiring for Black, Chicano, and Indian construction workers to make up for years of discrimination against them. This endorsement was included in the UMW's sample ballot mailed to 1,500 people in Portland.

Lemon's campaign especially addressed itself to the problems facing education in Oregon, which revolve around severe cutbacks in funds. Lemon called for an immediate halt to war spending and for this \$100-billion in federal funds to instead be used for human needs such as education.

Campaign supporters were active in

struggles on several college campuses in the state. At Portland State University they were active in a coalition with the Iranian Student Organization, the Arab Student Organization, and the Black Student/Black Faculty Alliance to fight against elimination of Middle East, Black, and women's studies programs.

At the University of Oregon in Eugene, Lemon picketed with United Farm Workers activists who are engaged in a struggle to stop the university from serving scab lettuce in the school cafeteria.

Six students have been charged with operating an illegal food service because they set up an alternative cafeteria outside the university's Erb Memorial Union. According to university figures, a boycott of the school cafeteria has been 30 percent effective.

Lemon also spoke out in defense of the Colegio César Chávez, a bilingual and bicultural college in Mt. Angel, Ore., formed last September to provide quality education for Chicano students.

The Colegio faces loss of its facilities because of its inability to pay off mortgage loans to the Housing and Urban Development Authority, debts the Colegio assumed when it began using buildings of the defunct Mt. Angel College.

Lemon demanded that the federal government stop trying to foreclose on the Colegio and place a permanent moratorium on the mortgage.

In the months ahead the Oregon Socialist Workers Party will continue campaigning actively for its ticket in the November general elections: John Studer for U.S. Senate and Stacey Seigle for governor.

New York tenants rally against evictions

By MARCIA GALLO

NEW YORK—Three hundred people rallied June 6 across from the Cathedral of St. John the Divine on New York's Upper West Side to protest the threatened eviction of 80 families from their homes.

The owners of the three buildings, Episcopal-affiliated Morningside House, began eviction proceedings in April after negotiations with the tenants broke down.

Most of the tenants—low-paid workers in the garment, food, and service industries—are Puerto Rican, Dominican, or come from other Spanish-speaking countries. They moved into the deserted buildings in July and August 1970 to get away from the deteriorated housing in Manhattan Valley, a nearby slum area.

The bilingual rally focused on Episcopal Diocesan complicity in the forced removal of thousands of low-income West Side families. Speakers from the Metropolitan Council on Housing, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the Columbia Tenants Union, the Citywide Action Coalition Against Urban Dislocation, the United Farm Workers union, the West Side Tenants Union, and the Socialist Workers Party gave messages of support.

Derrick Morrison, SWP candidate for governor, said, "Your struggle is an example to all the tenants in New York City of how to carry out struggles against profit-seeking landlords." Morrison stressed the importance of united actions by tenants, saying that neither the Democrats nor the Republicans offer any solution to the housing problem.

Socialist campaign supporters at the rally distributed a statement on



New York squatters face harassment by church and state. Above, cops arrest West 15th Street tenant during earlier struggle.

housing by Claire Moriarty, SWP congressional candidate from the 20th C.D. Moriarty called for no evictions and said that Black and Puerto Rican people, after decades of being forced to live in the most run-down, overcrowded housing, should have the right to live anywhere they choose.

She also called for rolling back rents to no more than 10 percent of a tenant's income.

The following morning, 80 tenants and supporters appeared in civil court to fight the eviction. After a brief discussion between the lawyers and the judge over legal procedures, the tenants met in the court building lobby to hear a report on the proceedings. They will be in court again later this month to continue their fight.

New pamphlet published Socialist program to fight inflation

In his latest forecast on the economy, President Nixon blithely predicted that "the storms are abating." In fact, he saw such blue skies ahead that he felt free to declare: "the quality of life in America—the ability to feed, clothe, and house our people—has continued at an unparalleled level."

Working people have a more realistic picture of the economy, since we are the ones whose real wages are dropping while corporate profits zoom upward. The question on the minds of most workers is not if their standard of living is deteriorating but how to fight back.

A new pamphlet published by the Socialist Workers Party 1974 National Campaign Committee contains many of the answers to this question. The *Socialist Program to Fight Infla-*

tion is a collection of articles by *Militant* staff writer Andy Rose and a speech to the Twin Cities Labor Federation in Champaign-Urbana, Ill., by Ed Heisler, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois.

These articles provide answers to the arguments of the capitalist politicians, economists, and bosses about the causes of inflation. Rose explains why the government cannot and will not control rising prices but instead carries out policies that perpetuate inflation.

The real aim of the last two-and-a-half years of "wage-price" controls, he writes, was never to hold down prices but rather to cut real wages. The pamphlet documents the bosses' success in doing this.

The government's policies, Rose explains, were "intended to make the working class pay the costs of improving U.S. capitalism's competitive position on the world market, which was increasingly challenged by Japanese and West European capitalism with their far lower labor costs."

But if working people cannot rely on the government to control prices, how can we protect our standard of living? The key demand in the socialist program is for a sliding scale of wages—an escalator clause—that provides for a rise in wages to fully match every increase in the cost of living.

Linked to this is the demand for a shorter workweek at no reduction in pay to end unemployment by spreading the available work to all who need it.

While more and more trade unionists see these demands as an effective way to defend their interests, the union officials shrink from mounting a campaign to win them. This is because these misleaders are firmly tied to the coattails of the Democrats and Republicans.

The need for an independent labor party, based on the trade unions, is outlined in the speech by Ed Heisler, a railroad worker and a former leader of the Right to Vote Committee in the United Transportation Union.

"We have the potential economic and political power . . . but our hands are tied behind our backs," Heisler says. "How? The present union leadership has relied on the Democratic and Republican party politicians to solve our problems."

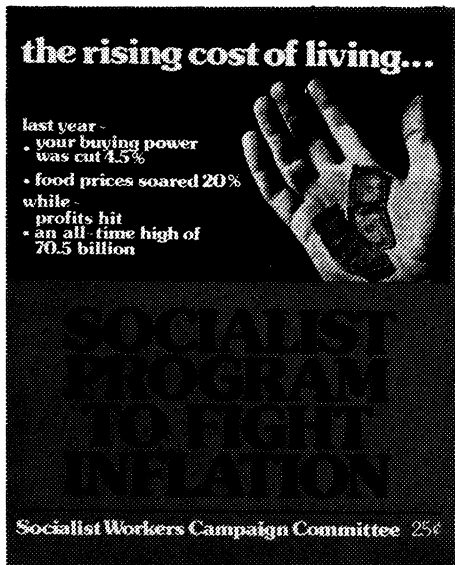
"But the problems of workers can only be solved by workers. Since the Democratic and Republican parties are fundamentally controlled by big business interests we can't rely on them for anything. . . ."

"Labor can and must break those chains by organizing a new political party based on the trade unions."

SWP campaign supporters are distributing *Socialist Program to Fight Inflation* at union meetings, on picket lines, at shopping centers, in the Black communities, and at campaign street rallies.

Copies of this pamphlet are available for 25 cents each from the Socialist Workers Party 1974 National Campaign Committee, P.O. Box 482, New York, N.Y. 10011.

— CINDY JAQUITH



Illinois SWP opens drive for ballot status, nets 7,000 petition signatures in first day

By DAN CAINE

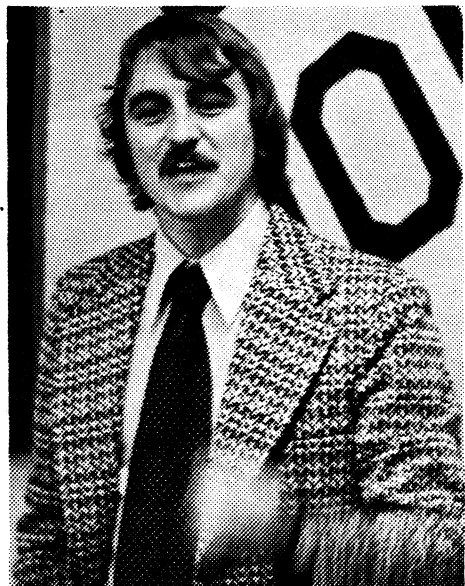
CHICAGO—The petitioning drive to put the Illinois Socialist Workers Party on the ballot was launched June 8 with a day-long mobilization that netted 7,000 signatures, followed by an evening rally of 125 campaign supporters.

Although June 8 marked the official opening of the drive, the total number of signatures collected on nominating petitions already stands at nearly 18,000, including 7,000 gathered by a team of volunteers who have been traveling through southwestern Illinois.

The Illinois SWP aims to collect 43,000 signatures for its statewide slate and 15,000 for Willie Reid, its congressional candidate from the 1st C.D. — 58,000 in all.

Greetings were presented to the campaign meeting by Jack Walker, vice-president of American Federation of Government Employees Local 1395 and president of the Chicago Council of AFGE locals.

"I have been a lifelong Democrat," Walker said. "I have voted for the



Militant/Terry Quilico

Ed Heisler, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois, addresses campaign supporters.

Democrats in every election since 1952. But this time it's going to be different. I'm casting my vote for the party that stands for the interests of labor. I'm voting for the Socialist Workers Party, and I'm going to urge all the brothers and sisters in my federation to do the same."

Marcos Muñoz, Illinois chairman of the United Farm Workers, also brought greetings to the meeting. Calling attention to the crucial importance of allies in the farm workers' struggle, Muñoz said the SWP and the Young

Volunteers are needed to help collect the 58,000 signatures necessary to get the Socialist Workers Party candidates on the ballot in Illinois. If you can help, contact the Illinois SWP campaign committee at 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago 60605. Telephone: (312) 939-0756.

Socialist Alliance have been among the UFW's most consistent supporters. He observed that the UFW and the SWP have a common enemy and face similar obstacles in the struggle for social change.

Max Liberes and Barbara Merril of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Mike Murphy of the Black Masses Party of Milwaukee; and representatives of the Chicago Raza Unida Party also presented greetings.

Ed Heisler, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, spoke on the gains registered thus far in the 1974 campaign and the new opportunities opening up for socialists in Illinois, including in the labor movement. "For the first time in many years," Heisler said, "some unions are opening their meetings to socialist candidates."

Heisler again challenged his Democratic and Republican opponents to debate him and noted the importance of the SWP's ballot drive for forcing the media and the capitalist candidates

to treat the SWP campaign as legitimate.

"Senator Adlai Stevenson has refused to debate me on the grounds that the SWP is not on the ballot," Heisler said. "He'll have to think of a new excuse when we finish collecting our 58,000 signatures."

The crowd responded enthusiastically when Heisler appealed for \$1,500 to help cover the cost of petitioning. More than \$1,850 was pledged to the socialist campaign, enough to finance a campaign mailing to every union local in Illinois, in addition to petitioning expenses.

Also speaking at the rally were Willie Reid and Peter Camejo, a member of the national committee of the SWP.

Campaign coordinators in Chicago estimate the petitioning is going 15 to 20 percent faster this year than during the 1972 campaign. Massive revulsion over Watergate and rising inflation have spurred willingness to help socialists get on the ballot.

Petitioners have run into a number of people interested in actively supporting the socialist campaign. A teacher in Rockford offered to try to set up speaking engagements for SWP candidates in his school.

In Quad Cities in northwestern Illinois, petitioners encountered an older man who greeted them enthusiastically and recalled hearing James P. Cannon, a founding leader of the SWP, address a large crowd in Davenport, Iowa, many years ago. "I'm sure glad that you're still around," he said.

Socialist ballot drives are also moving ahead in Pennsylvania and Missouri. Pennsylvania campaign supporters mobilized June 8, collecting 8,500 signatures in Pittsburgh and 9,700 in Philadelphia.

The Pennsylvania SWP has collected 48,000 signatures so far toward its goal of 65,000. A victory celebration is planned for June 28 in Philadelphia.

With 23,427 signatures gathered so



Militant/Martha Harris

Socialist petitioners mobilized recently in Philadelphia (above) and Pittsburgh.

far, Missouri petitioners have nearly met their statewide goal of 25,000 to get SWP senatorial candidate Barbara Mutnick on the ballot. Ballot coordinator Liz Jayko estimates the party will be able to file 12,000 to 13,000 signatures more than the required number.

Petitioning has already been completed in the 4th and 5th Congressional Districts, both in Kansas City, and the 1st C.D. in St. Louis.

The top petitioner in Missouri so far is Barbara Mutnick, who was part of a team of full-time petitioners in Kansas City. By introducing herself as the socialist candidate for Senate and asking for support to get on the ballot, Mutnick has collected 1,981 signatures. In St. Louis the leading petitioner is Craig Adams, with 1,126 signatures.

A petitioning victory celebration is scheduled for June 28 in St. Louis. Featured speakers will be Barbara Mutnick and Stephanie Coontz, associate editor of the *International Socialist Review*.

Atlanta Blacks: Abolish cop terror squads!

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA—Police chief John Inman's attorney, Wesley Asinoss, charged June 10 that there is a "Maynard Jackson group" in Atlanta consisting of "Hosea Williams, Stokely Carmichael, and the Socialist Workers Party."

Asinoss's wild assertion came in response to questions by Hank Ezell of the *Atlanta Journal* about Mayor Maynard Jackson's statement that "an Inman group," consisting of right-wing businessmen, is attempting to disrupt Atlanta.

Questioned by the media, James Harris, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from the 5th C.D., called the Asinoss charge a "red-baiting smear tactic" against those who have been protesting police terror in Atlanta.

Jackson, he pointed out, is a Democrat whom the SWP opposed in the election last October.

"While Jackson wants to make the mere administrative change of getting rid of Inman," Harris said, "we socialists are for totally removing the present racist police from the Black community and replacing them with a force drawn from and responsible to the Black community."

On June 8, chants of "Inman must go!" and "No more stakeout, no more SWAT!" resounded outside the police

headquarters as 100 people picketed. Among leaders of the picket line were the Reverend Hosea Williams of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Vince Eagan, SWP candidate for governor of Georgia.

Police chief Inman had brought out the entire stakeout-decoy squad and SWAT squad instead of the usual traffic cops. The SWAT squad, an elite "antiriot" unit, was armed with rifles and shotguns.

Sponsored by the Peoples' Committee to Get Rid of Inman, the picket line



Socialist candidate James Harris: "We are for totally removing the present racist police force from the Black community."

was held to help build a march against the police June 18, the day a city council impeachment trial of Inman had been scheduled to begin.

A recent court order, however, makes it likely that the trial of Inman will be postponed, while the verbal battle between the racist police chief and city hall continues.

Mayor Jackson had attempted to fire Inman last month as a sop to growing anger in the Black community over police killings. Inman refused to step down and got a court order to enjoin Jackson from "interfering with his duties" as chief.

The city council then voted to hold the impeachment trial. Now a DeKalb County court has temporarily enjoined the city council, too, from "interfering" with the chief's "duties!"

The adversaries may appear to be "enlightened" politicians like Jackson and the city council on the one hand, against old-style racists like Inman, the judges, and state legislators on the other. However, the city council's public safety committee, considered especially liberal, recently showed its fundamental agreement with Inman about the basic function of the police.

Following two killings of young Black men by the stakeout squad this spring, the public safety committee held hearings to investigate the stakeout-decoy unit. The committee has now

concluded that the stakeout unit should not be abolished but should be "better trained" and given "better guidelines" for the use of firearms. This recommendation concurs with statements by Jackson.

Socialist candidate Vince Eagan condemned the committee's action, saying, "When a new round of police terror is launched against the Black community, the cops who commit murder or brutalize innocent Black people won't be the only guilty ones. The blood will also be on the hands of all elected officials who think they can compromise with racist gunslingers."

"In giving the decoy-stakeout cops the green light," Eagan said, "James Bond, Carl Ware, and other Black Democrats on the public safety committee are endangering the public safety of the Black community that elected them."

Eagan pointed out that the public safety committee's decision came on the heels of *Atlanta Constitution* editorials and a campaign by the chamber of commerce on behalf of the decoy squad.

"Collusion between Democratic and Republican politicians and big business," he said, "is a matter of course in America — whether the parties to collusion are Richard Nixon and ITT or the Atlanta city council and Trust Company Bank."

Interview with sons of witch-hunt victims

New campaign launched to reopen

By JON HILLSON

Six months before he died in the electric chair, Julius Rosenberg wrote to his wife, Ethel, who would share the same fate, "There is a new whipping boy in our land 'the Rosenbergs' and all 'respectable' people have to cleanse themselves by throwing stones at us. They are doomed to failure for the truth will out."

Today, 21 years after the execution of the Rosenbergs on June 19, 1953, there is growing support for efforts to pry the lid off one of the most important political trials in American history. This was the "atom spy trial," which convicted Julius and Ethel Rosenberg of passing the "secret" of the atom bomb to the Soviet Union.

The driving force for the reopening of the Rosenberg case are Michael, 31, and Robbie Meeropol, 27, the couple's two sons. Both are now college teachers. They described the efforts to exonerate their parents in recent interviews with *The Militant*.

The National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case has been organized to press for disclosure of all the official records on the case and to win a new hearing. The Meeropols are not formally members of the committee but support its efforts.

In addition, Morton Sobell, who was convicted with the Rosenbergs and sentenced to 30 years in prison, is seeking a new hearing on his case. Sobell was released from prison in 1969.

Witch-hunt period

The "atom spy trial" was part of the hysteria generated by the McCarthy era. "You have to understand the fear," Michael Meeropol told *The Militant*. "It was absolute in those days; it was complete irrationality and people were ready to believe anything."

The witch-hunt was initiated by Democratic President Harry Truman to prepare the American people for the cold-war drive against the Soviet bloc.

On the home front, Truman took measures aimed at curbing the militant struggles of workers that had exploded at the end of World War II. On March 21, 1947, he instituted the "loyalty" program, which ordered government departments to set up loyalty boards that would screen all federal employees to weed out "subversives."

On Nov. 24, 1947, Attorney General Tom Clark drew up his infamous list of "subversive" organizations. Known as the "attorney general's list," it purported to be for the "guidance" of loyalty boards, but its use quickly spread to all employers. (This list was finally abolished on June 4 of this year.)

The Smith "Gag" Act, which had first been used by the Roosevelt administration in 1941 against leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Teamsters Local 544 in Minneapolis, was put into use again, this time to



Laura Gray cartoon from 1953 *Militant*

jail leaders of the Communist Party.

"A beautiful bipartisan effort," Michael Meeropol called the witch-hunt. "Truman and Dean Acheson and Arthur Vandenberg. Vandenberg, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was a Republican. And Acheson was Truman's secretary of state and they worked in tandem."

"Vandenberg once said that if you want to push ahead with the rearmament part of the Marshall Plan, you're going to have to scare hell out of the American people. The spy trials did that."

Speaking of what was behind Truman's loyalty program, Michael Meeropol said, "The ruling class was planning a switch from 'Russia is our ally, let's reform at home' to 'Russia is our enemy, let's expand overseas.'"

The aim of the witch-hunt, he added, was "to make sure that the Blacks who were getting 'uppity' during the war stopped getting 'uppity'; to pacify and discipline the unions; and to make sure that left-wingers who supported the Russians, not only the Communist Party, were effectively smashed. . . ."

In 1949 the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb. This was a big setback to the American imperialists, who had planned on using their monopoly of atomic weaponry to carry out their dream of world hegemony. The perfection of the bomb by the Soviets was also another blow to the myth of capitalist superiority in science

and technology.

Forced to find a public explanation for how the Soviet Union, a workers state, could possibly have developed the bomb, the U.S. government came up with the story that the Russians had stolen the secret of the bomb.

Bolstering this story was the 1950 confession of Klaus Fuchs, a scientist in Britain, who said he had given atomic bomb information to the Soviet Union. It was asserted that the "Fuchs spy ring" included Americans.

Immediately the war drums of the U.S. witch-hunters began beating for the capture of all the "atom spies." Richard Nixon, then a California congressman serving on the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUCAC), stated: ". . . the American people are . . . entitled to know the facts about the espionage ring which was responsible for turning over information on the atom bomb to agents of the Russian government."

In a quick series of events, an alleged American wing of the Fuchs espionage group was rounded up. Its principals included David Greenglass, his sister Ethel Rosenberg, Julius Rosenberg, Morton Sobell, Harry Gold, and Anatoli Yakovlev, a member of the staff of the Soviet consulate in New York City.

FBI's 'evidence'

The main "evidence" that spy secrets had been passed among these people were replicas (the originals were never provided by the FBI) of sketches Greenglass supposedly made of the atom bomb, and a jello box top cut in halves, alleged to be the recognition device used by the spies.

The flimsiness of the evidence underscores the real "crime" that was on trial. "The evidence will show that the loyalty and allegiance of the Rosenbergs and Sobell were not to our country," declared prosecuting attorney Irving Saypol at the trial's outset, "but that it was to Communism, Communism in this country and Communism throughout the world."

The anticommunist hysteria whipped up at the trial was so great that by the end, Judge Irving Kaufman was to declare as he sentenced the couple to death: "I consider your crime worse

than murder. . . . I believe your conduct . . . has already caused, in my opinion, the Communist aggression in Korea, with the resultant casualties exceeding 50,000 and who knows but that millions more of innocent people may pay the price of your treason."

The Rosenbergs and Sobell maintained their innocence throughout the trial.

The prosecution's case was built around the testimony of David Greenglass and Harry Gold. Greenglass said that while working as a machinist at an atom bomb research site in Los Alamos, New Mexico, he had stolen information concerning the bomb for Julius Rosenberg.

In addition to the revelation after the trial that Greenglass's "sketches" were worthless from a scientific point of view, it turns out that the FBI had visited Greenglass prior to the spy indictments about another matter—his theft of a piece of uranium.

FBI made deal

Greenglass received "a deal," explained Robbie Meeropol. "No one will say it's a deal, but there is no question about it. And this was the deal: Finger the Rosenbergs and you'll get off light [for stealing the uranium]."

Harry Gold, who claimed to be the messenger between Greenglass and Yakovlev, received 400 hours of FBI preparation for his testimony at the trial. This Walter Mitty figure, who testified at other spy trials as well, once said, "It is a wonder steam didn't come out of my ears at times" because of his imagination.

The phoniness of the trial was not only in the FBI-orchestrated "confessions," however, but in the nature of the alleged crime itself. As numerous atomic physicists have since explained, there is no such thing as the "secret of the atom bomb." The essential knowledge needed to build the bomb was known by scientists in many countries at that time.

The Meeropols also noted the anti-Semitic nature of the trial. "The FBI gave profiles of possible jurors to the prosecution—the defense didn't have them—and the prosecution promptly screened all Jews from the jury, which is rather amazing when you consider the size of New York's Jewish community," explained Robbie Meeropol.

There is "no doubt something was going on—Greenglass stole uranium; Gold was involved in something; it appears some sergeants at Los Alamos were involved—but none of it was of the scope the government said it was," said Robbie.

"They thought by bartering against the death penalty, everyone would confess and name more 'spies' and widen the 'ring.' My parents and Sobell would not go along with that plot, would not lie to implicate others."

Int'l protest movement

The brutality of the fate of the Rosenbergs evoked protests around the world, the most massive being in France and Italy. In Italy the sister of martyred anarchist Bartolomeo Vanzetti called for a halt to the execution. Even *Le Monde*, the prominent French daily, said the proposed executions would be "ritual murder."

The campaign in the United States to save the Rosenbergs was more modest. "People did fight back," Michael said. "That must be remembered. But in this country they were so outnumbered."

The liberal press in the U.S., from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* to the *New York Times*, screamed unanimously for the execution of the Rosenbergs. Every appeal to the courts made by



Demonstrators in Milan, Italy, demanding clemency for Rosenbergs

Rosenberg case

the couple's defense lawyers failed, despite the new evidence that had surfaced showing perjury on the part of witnesses, contradictions, and other evidence of a frame-up.

The U.S. government seemed impervious to the worldwide revulsion at its murder of the Rosenbergs. The U.S. government "could not buckle, could not give in," said Robbie. "It was saying by killing my parents, 'We are top dog, this is America, and we don't pull our punches.' The government was asserting itself to the world. It was saying this is how far we will go."

Could a different defense strategy for the Rosenbergs have made a difference? "I'm beginning to think not," Michael said. "The people were carried along by the hysteria."

But he does think the defense could have been stronger. "My parents' defense was not aggressive, it did not fight back like those of today. It gave away too much; it gave in to the pressure. Not like the legal fighting that goes on in the courts today."

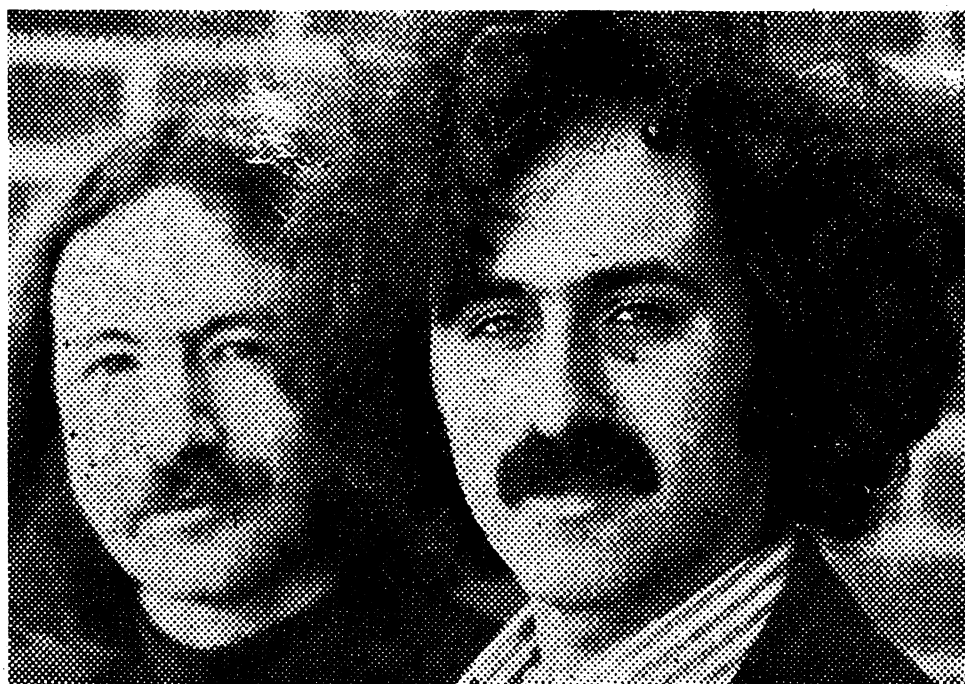
One example of the errors made by the defense, Michael said, was urging the impoundment of some of Greenglass's "sketches" so they could not be exhibited to the public, as if to show the Rosenbergs' concern for "national security." This could only have led the jury to conclude the sketches were valid.

Robbie Meeropol said they do not look at their campaign "in a narrow sense, not in the legalisms of the trial, but the broader, political sense—that you can win victories; that we might win vindication, although it will be one hell of a fight to get at those FBI files. Also to get the truth out, to show the government conspired to get my parents, and that the repressive nature of the government does not just go away. You have to fight back. That's what we learned from the fifties."

The Meeropols are speaking at a June 17 memorial rally at New York's Carnegie Hall that is being organized by the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case. The committee is located at 156 Fifth Ave., Room 505, New York, N.Y. 10010.

In addition, Michael and Robbie have launched a legal challenge against Louis Nizer, author of *The Implosion Conspiracy*, a book that whitewashes the Rosenberg trial. They are suing Nizer for \$4-million to protect the copyright on the letters written to them by their parents, which Nizer used in his book without permission and in a distorted manner.

Michael Meeropol outlined some of the activities that can help reopen their parents' case. "We want people to do what they think is possible: rallies, petitions, letter writing, anything that



Michael Meeropol (left) and Robbie

There is a clear sense of Watergate in the effort to reopen the Rosenberg trial, and in Morton Sobell's drive to win a new hearing. It is not only that "people would have a greater tendency to believe my parents were innocent," Michael said. "That's true, people are willing now to believe the government would engage in deceit."

But, in addition, disclosure of the facts in the Rosenberg case would "expose the roots of Watergate, the phony national security argument," he explained. "It is really important to expose the fraud of the national security argument."

Robbie explained how widespread use of the national security argument is. "The government used the same arguments against King and the civil rights movement, against the Black movement, the anti-Vietnam war movement. They tried to make out Ellsberg as working for a 'foreign power.'"

"The Democrats exposed Watergate, but immediately sought to separate out the other aspects. They want to make it appear an isolated incident, not part of a pattern, of a system."

"That's what we want to prove. Watergate was not an isolated incident."

can get the word out, that can educate millions of Americans, that can begin to undo 20 years of our side not being told."

'Open the FBI files!'

The key demand of the campaign, he said, is "Open the FBI files!" Despite promises last fall to release at least some of the files on the Rosenbergs, the FBI has since backed down and none of the volumes of records have been released.

The U.S. government works in secret, said Michael, "because, you know, we have the trappings of freedom here, so secrecy becomes their weapon of terror. Whereas, you know, a psychiatric ward or police riots become the terror in a much more nakedly repressive regime. But it's just as dangerous, and we have to fight it wherever it is."

"Now the climate is so much better, for everything, everything is more favorable, people are more open."

"Nixon is down, anticommunism is down, 'national security' arguments are down. Now is the time to break the back of the national security arguments, anticommunism, to change the political climate in America."

N.Y. postal workers, social workers protest

By JEANNIE REYNOLDS

NEW YORK — Two large demonstrations by public employees here recently are an indication of the growing militancy of this section of the work force.

A spirited demonstration of 800 members of Social Service Employees Union Local 371 marched in front of city hall June 4.

Their demands of "No layoffs" and "Hire now" were aimed at the city administration's proposed budget for the coming year, which will mean laying off 2,500 provisional workers.

These employees, many of them Black, make up the bulk of the lowest-paid clerks and case workers in various social service agencies throughout the city.

According to a news release from Local 371, the provisionals earn an average of \$8,000 a year. As an added injustice, these workers would not be eligible for unemployment compensation, because they are employed by the city government.

Patrick Knight, president of Local 371, indicated that further public actions may be called if a contract is

not signed by June 30, the date when more provisionals are slated to be laid off. These workers have been without a contract since January.

On June 6, 2,500 postal service employees marched in front of the general post office to protest layoffs and cutbacks in work hours for substitute workers. Substitutes are employees who were hired on a probationary status, some as long as two-and-a-half years ago.

One sub told *The Militant*, "I was supposed to become a regular [full-time worker] within six months. That was over a year ago." Most subs get an average of only 20 hours work each week at peak times.

Both subs and regulars participated in the demonstration. Picket signs indicated support from New Jersey postal workers as well as Manhattan and the Bronx.

Chants and signs demanded an end to substitute status, an end to starvation wages, and full-time work for all employees.

The demonstration was cosponsored by the New York Metro Area Postal Union and Branch 36 of the Letter Carrier's Union.



Militant/Jeanne Reynolds

Black actor wins right to lawyer of his choice

By GREG CORNELL

ST. PAUL, Minn. — The U.S. Supreme Court recently dismissed an appeal from a lower court aimed at prohibiting attorney William Kunstler from defending Arthur Burghardt Banks. Banks is a Black actor and playwright who was convicted in 1969 of draft resistance.

Kunstler will now be able to legally represent Banks, who is out on bail.

The case stems from an April 1973 ruling by Judge Cale Holder, who refused a request by Banks to allow Kunstler to represent him.

"Judge Holder said in his ruling that he didn't like my opinions on amnesty, the draft, and POWs," Kunstler recalled in an interview last week. "The judge said I was 'a stone around the neck' of the defendant."

For nearly a year, as a result of Holder's ruling, Banks was denied his legal right to be represented by an attorney of his own choosing.

Banks asked Kunstler to be his attorney in August 1972, but Judge Holder refused to allow this.

On May 17, 1973, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit ordered Holder to permit Kunstler to represent Banks.

"From that day on," Kunstler told *The Militant*, "Judge Holder used every legal strategy to reverse the seventh circuit decision."

Holder asked for a rehearing before a full bench and was backed up by the American Bar Association, Kunstler says.

A full hearing was set, but U.S. Supreme Court Justice William Rehnquist stayed the hearing, giving Holder time to appeal the case before the Supreme Court.

Arguments were presented in April, and the court later dismissed the appeal on the grounds that it was improperly allowed.

In hailing the decision, Kunstler said, "It reaffirms the right of the itinerant attorney," to travel from state to state handling political cases.

Banks has been held at various federal prisons. At Danbury, Conn., he joined protests organized by the Berigan brothers against prison conditions. At Terre Haute, Ind., he joined a peaceful protest by 200 Black prisoners after a Black prisoner was given a heavier punishment following a fist fight with a white prisoner than the white prisoner was.

For participation in that demonstration, Banks was maced, stripped of his clothes, and placed in solitary confinement for 17 months.

Banks was transferred to Sandstone Prison in Minnesota last year. Finally, on Feb. 15, he was released on bail, pending an evidentiary hearing set on the conditions of his confinement.

The battle for Banks's freedom is not over. At a hearing June 10, the U.S. attorney's office asked that bail be revoked. A decision is pending.

Banks, the author of the play *Frederick Douglass: In His Own Words*, has appeared in several films, including *Cotton Comes to Harlem* and *Othello*.

Revolutionary Marxism versus Maoism

Marxism Versus Maoism: A Reply to the 'Guardian' by Tony Thomas. Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. 1974. 60 cents.

The Chinese revolution was one of the great events of the twentieth century, proving once again the capacity of the oppressed masses to overthrow capitalism and reorganize society on a collective basis.

China was formerly a land of mass starvation and foot-binding, of imperialist "concessions" and semifeudal warlords. It has, however, in a mere 25 years, developed its own nuclear technology, overtaken Britain in the tonnage of steel it produces, and developed into the most powerful Asian country, with the exception of Japan.

In view of these impressive advances, it is hardly surprising that many radicalizing youth, seeking a political model, tend to look to China. This

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tendency is reinforced by the image of the smug, overfed Soviet bureaucrat, entertaining Nixon on a country estate or working hand in hand with Henry Kissinger in helping to stabilize the status quo in the Middle East.

In contrast, the Maoist leaders project a more egalitarian and radical image with their plain, military-style tunics and talk of ongoing class struggle.

In politics, however, it is necessary to evaluate words and images in the light of deeds; using this yardstick, the policies of the Maoist regime suffer from the same narrow nationalism as those of the Soviet bureaucrats.

Nixon, after all, was received in Peking as well as in Moscow while bombs were raining down on North Vietnam. The policy of détente that has been so successful for Washington in Vietnam and the Middle East began with Nixon's trip to China. The opening of trade between Washington and Peking and the admission of China to the United Nations were diplomatic triumphs that were not without their price.

During the year leading up to Nixon's trip to Peking Mao attempted to demonstrate his reliability as a diplomatic partner of imperialism in three instances in which he came down against the interests of the world working class and in opposition to the struggle for socialism. These occurred in Bangladesh (at that time East Bengal), in Ceylon, and in Sudan, all during 1971.

In East Bengal, the Mao regime supported the Pakistani military dictatorship in its genocidal attempt to suppress the Bengali struggle for national independence. That same year, when a revolt of youth threatened to topple the Ceylonese



MAO & NIXON: Mao wined and dined Nixon while American bombs rained on Vietnam.

government, Peking again gave financial support and offered military aid to the government. Chinese Premier Chou En-lai sent a public statement to the Ceylonese premier approving the regime's butchery, which had resulted in the arrest, torture, and death of thousands of young rebels.

In both cases the interests of the masses and of the socialist revolution were subordinated to Peking's desire for friendly diplomatic relations with these capitalist regimes.

A similar case occurred in July 1971 when Sudanese leader Gaafar Nimeiry launched a major repression against the pro-Moscow Communist Party, jailing, torturing, and murdering thousands. The victims were both members of the CP and participants in various mass organizations. But the Mao regime, because of the rivalry between it and Moscow, praised this bloody attack by a capitalist regime on the working-class movement.

The same narrow disregard for the fate of revolutionary struggles abroad was seen when the Chinese embassy in Santiago refused refuge in its offices to the victims of the rightist coup in Chile, and when the Maoist government moved without delay to recognize the Chilean junta.

Such actions, taken in relation to major world struggles, are not mere mistakes or oversights. They reflect the conscious evaluation by the Maoist bureaucrats that their interests are best served

by diplomatic deals with capitalist powers *as opposed to* the spread of the socialist revolution. The regime in Peking thus subordinates the interests of the world revolution and the world working class to its immediate foreign policy needs.

Maoist theorists, following in the footsteps of Stalin, attempt to justify support to capitalist regimes and diplomatic deals at the expense of the socialist revolution through such innovations as the theory of revolution in stages.

In *Marxism Versus Maoism* Tony Thomas gives a clear explanation of the political differences between Maoism and the revolutionary Marxism espoused and practiced by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. He shows how the Maoists of all varieties advance the discredited ideas of Stalin. He also points out how these ideas differ from the concepts of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, and how they led to disaster in China in 1925-27, in Germany and Spain in the 1930s, and in Chile just last year.

The future of our planet depends on the ability of the working class in the imperialist centers—particularly in the United States—to take power from the hands of the capitalist rulers before the world is destroyed by a nuclear war or its ecology is irreparably damaged. As Thomas's pamphlet convincingly shows, Maoism stands as a roadblock to this task.

—DAVE FRANKEL

Trotskyists in Mao Tsetung's prisons

Revolutionaries in Mao's Prisons: The Case of the Chinese Trotskyists by Li Fu-jen and Peng Shu-tse. Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. 1974. 50 cents.

In December 1952 and January 1953, Mao's secret police carried out secret raids throughout China, rounding up all members of the Chinese Trotskyist party who were known to the police, as well as many who were simply relatives of these revolutionary socialists.

Several hundred were dragged from their homes in these raids, and they have not been heard from since. No indictments, no public trials, not a word in the Chinese newspapers at the time on the raids or arrests. Their fate is unknown to this day.

Revolutionaries in Mao's Prisons recounts the facts of this brutal attempt by Mao to snuff out the entire revolutionary socialist movement in China. At a time when protest is growing at the denial of democratic and human rights by Stalin's heirs in the Kremlin, this pamphlet is especially

appropriate in bringing to light the crimes of Stalin's heirs in Peking.

The 1952-53 dragnet was preceded by several years of growing repression against the revolutionists in China, who had been expelled from the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) for their support to the positions of Leon Trotsky. Raids on Trotskyist headquarters and summary executions of Trotskyists were carried out by the Stalinists in 1949, when the CCP took power. Another wave

of raids came in 1950.

Who were these revolutionists persecuted by Mao? Like many of the Old Bolsheviks murdered by Stalin in the 1930s, they were among the most dedicated fighters and leaders in the process of the Chinese revolution. They included founding members of the Chinese Communist Party, members of the CCP central committee, leaders of the

1927 revolution, fighters in the Resistance War against Japanese imperialism, and guerrilla leaders in the struggle against Chiang Kai-shek.

The outstanding record of the Chinese Trotskyists in service of the Chinese socialist revolution is outlined in the "Open Letter to the Chinese Communist Party" by Peng Shu-tse contained in this pamphlet. Peng was a founding member of the CCP, a member of the central executive committee of the party, and editor in chief of its newspaper during the revolution of 1925-27. The letter challenges Mao to give an accounting for the arrests, to free all the imprisoned Trotskyists, and to return to the tradition of workers democracy upheld by Lenin and the Russian revolution.

The pamphlet also contains an article on the case of the Chinese Trotskyists by journalist Li Fu-jen, a statement by the Fourth International, and an appeal from Chinese Trotskyists that was smuggled out of China at the time of the 1952-53 raids.

Hopefully this pamphlet will be widely circulated. The curtain of secrecy must be lifted on the case of these persecuted revolutionists.

—CAROLINE LUND

Pamphlets

Circulation expands

Militant sales drive registered new gains

By ROSE OGDEN

The biggest single accomplishment of *The Militant's* spring sales campaign was our success in regularizing a higher level of single-copy sales.

This was the third sales drive we have conducted in the last year and a half. In the spring of 1973 we carried out a 15-week campaign, selling an average of 6,500 copies of *The Militant* per week. This does not include newsstand sales or sales by individuals or small groups of activists who do not formally participate in the drive by sending in weekly reports. Also, of course, these sales figures do not include our circulation by subscriptions.

In the fall of 1973 we conducted a more intensive campaign of only 11 weeks, boosting our weekly sales average to 8,500. We also combined that sales effort with a subscription drive, in which we sold more than 16,000 introductory subs.

The results this spring show a steady improvement in our sales effort and organization, achieving more consistent sales over a longer time period.

The drive this spring lasted 18 weeks, our longest yet. Our average sales were 8,400, down a fraction from the shorter drive in the fall, but substantially higher than last spring.

In addition, we sold 8,230 subscriptions, ensuring that a substantial number of new readers will see how *The Militant* responds to a variety of events and issues every week over a period of months.

Grand total: 175,000

During the course of the 18-week campaign, a grand total of 175,000 copies of *The Militant* were sold. This total includes 150,504 reported on the weekly scoreboards; 9,100 sold by the teams of Young Socialists who toured campuses from coast to coast; and estimated sales in areas whose bundles were not included on the scoreboard.

The goal we set for ourselves was to sell 10,000 *Militant's* weekly. Our aim was to gradually boost sales, over the duration of the drive, to this level. Sales increased in every area, although there were fluctuations from week to week. We didn't hit the 10,000 figure as often as we would have liked, but we shot way over this goal with the "target" issue (the May 17 *Militant*), selling more than 15,000 copies.

In the final two weeks of the drive, which normally would have been the highest sales weeks, we adjusted our sights downward because many areas had to allocate major resources to circulating nominating petitions to put SWP candidates on the ballot.

Many *Militant* supporters also participated in the *Young Socialist news-*



Militant/Jo Hendrickson

Grand total of 175,000 *Militants* were sold during successful sales drive

paper's spring sales campaign. During the first three months of that drive, a total of 32,213 YSs were sold.

The bulk of the *Militant* sales were organized by local units of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. However, many other readers also took part during the campaign. During the spring, *Militants* were sold in 150 cities, covering most major metropolitan areas as well as smaller cities and towns from Bangor, Me., to Columbia, Miss., and Bellingham, Wash.

Sales reports from around the country confirm the fact that the crises and breakdowns that have confronted the American people—including inflation, Watergate, and the energy crisis—have led to new interest in the socialist alternative to the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties.

Facts & information

In addition to the interest in the socialist perspective, there is a growing recognition and appreciation of the fact that *The Militant* provides a wealth of information that simply is not carried by the daily capitalist papers or other news sources.

A growing number of people, who don't necessarily find themselves in agreement with everything *The Militant* stands for, buy single copies and subscriptions because of the value of the information we provide each week. This includes material on both international events and developments in the United States.

One noteworthy illustration of this aspect of our circulation was the response this spring to the issue of *The Militant* that carried the full texts of the FBI secret documents on plans to "disrupt" the Black movement.

Sales of this issue, the second highest during the campaign, hit 9,520. *The Militant* was the only newspaper in the country to reproduce these documents in full.

Despite the vast resources and facilities of the capitalist papers (many of which, for example, printed every single word of the White House transcripts), not one of them saw fit to publish more than a few sentences of these documents!

Interest in these documents was especially high in the Black community and among activists in Black organizations. Radical and underground papers across the country quoted from the material in *The Militant*, often cred-

iting us as the source of their information.

Twenty thousand copies of a special supplement reprinting these documents and accompanying news stories were printed and distributed to Black periodicals and organizations, to radical papers and bookstores, and on campuses and in Black communities across the country.

Stepped-up sales in Black communities of the issue with the FBI memos and subsequent issues with additional information on the government plot against the Black movement helped to enhance further the standing of *The Militant* in the forefront of the fight against Watergating tactics aimed at those fighting to change society.

Consistency

The main characteristic of the spring drive was the ability of supporters to conduct consistent weekly sales in regular locations. Sales were organized each week on campuses; in Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities; and in other working-class communities, shopping centers, and transportation terminals.

Sales in Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities increased noticeably during the spring. They now account for 26 percent of total street sales.

Campus sales account for 27 percent of sales each week. In addition, the bulk of the 8,000 new subscriptions and a large number of the YSs sold this spring were to people on campuses.

One area in which modest but steady improvement has been made is sales at plant gates and other work places. Many supporters have begun to regularize these sales efforts. Often, the first step is sales to co-workers; this can then be extended as the paper gets to be known. Some areas have established weekly sales at one or two work places, and have built up a steady readership.

New opportunities

Of course, there is no contradiction between consistent, regular sales, and looking for special opportunities around particular articles or events, and opening up new sales places.

Special sales efforts can often lead to consistent follow-up work. For example, Brooklyn supporters tried selling for the first time in the Haitian community with the issue containing

a feature article on the West Indies. The response to the paper was so favorable that they now sell *Militants* there every week.

New readers were also found in the long gas lines brought on by the contrived fuel shortage. Angered by the direct effects of the manipulations of the oil barons, many working people became increasingly interested in our coverage of the energy crisis.

The organization and consciousness of *Militant* sales stimulated by the circulation drive also puts us in better shape to respond quickly and vigorously to new opportunities when they arise.

For example, when the independent truckers took action in February, *Militant* salespeople (and reporters) moved quickly to make contact with the truckers and introduce them to the paper. Some of the most enthusiastic new readers we encountered during the sales drive were truck drivers who were delighted to find at least one paper that supported their struggle and explained the issues involved.

One other important gain was the increase in the number of local areas undertaking special sales mobilizations around issues of heightened local interest. For instance, the SWP and YSA in San Francisco made a special effort to use *The Militant* as a vehicle for supporting the municipal workers' strike there. They also made sales of the paper an important part of their work in support of the Sears strike.

Other special, local sales efforts included wide circulation of the paper in New York's Lower East Side during the community school board election campaign. As a result, *The Militant* became widely identified with support for the struggle for community control of the schools in District 1.

Another example of this is the efforts in the Twin Cities to take advantage of our consistent defense of the victims of the Wounded Knee frame-up trial going on in St. Paul in order to get the socialist alternative out to supporters of the Indian struggle.

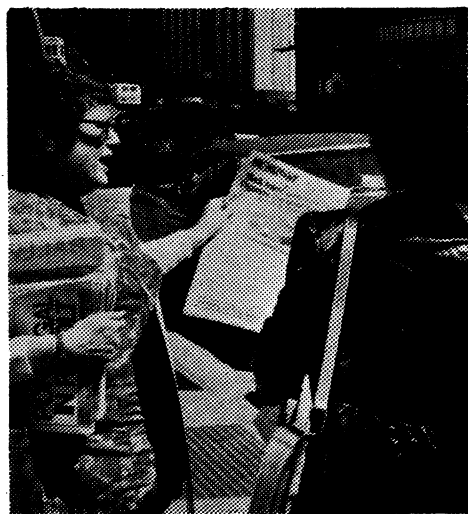
Socialist campaigns

Several cities tied *Militant* sales into building support for the SWP candidates. "Campaign Saturdays" with street rallies, distribution of campaign literature, and *Militant* single-copy and subscription sales were organized.

Several places also made plans in advance to take advantage of major campaign articles from their cities or states to organize special sales and get out the word on their campaign to potential supporters in their areas.

The goal of increasing our circulation base goes hand in hand with the expansion of the size of the paper. Our present 28-page format allows for coverage of a variety of issues, but we need to continue growing. During the spring sales drive we were able to publish six 32-page issues. As our circulation increases and our readership and support broadens, we will continue to enlarge the size and coverage of *The Militant*.

The ability to conduct a sales drive of the magnitude of this spring's campaign gives us a big advantage over the Stalinists and others with whom we must contest for leadership. It is a significant sign of the strength of revolutionary Marxism in the U.S. over its competitors that no other tendency could begin to match the energy, determination, and enthusiasm the supporters of *The Militant* displayed during our spring circulation drive.



Militant/Dave Wulp

Selling in Chicago. The *Militant* was sold in 150 cities this spring.

Calendar

ATLANTA

GAY OPPRESSION: ITS ORIGINS AND HOW TO END IT. Speakers: Juanita Price, Ipothia (collective of gay Black women); Eva Cherlov, Socialist Workers Party; spokespersons from Atlanta Lesbian Feminist Alliance (ALFA) and Metropolitan Community Church (MCC). Fri., June 21, 8:30 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

BOSTON

THE STATE OF THE GAY MOVEMENT—1974. Speakers: Elaine Noble, gay feminist and independent candidate for state representative; a Boston activist supporting the June 22 gay rights demonstration; leaders of Univ. of New Hampshire Gay Rights Organization. Fri., June 21, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave., (opp. South Sta.), Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

BROOKLYN

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. A revolutionary strategy for labor. Tues., June 18: Unions and the revolutionary party; Thurs., June 20, and Tues., June 25: The role of revolutionaries in trade unions; Thurs., June 27: A Marxist view of the labor party; Weds., June 19, and Weds., June 26: Introduction to socialism. All classes at 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: 50 cents per class. Ausp: Brooklyn Socialist Summer School. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

CLEVELAND

THE ENERGY CRISIS: SOCIALIST ANALYSIS VS. SHELL OIL. Speakers: Bruce Kimball, Socialist Workers Party; Charles McCarty, Shell Oil Company. Fri., June 21, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-3278.

LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. The history of the Russian revolution: its lessons for today. Weds., June 19, 8 p.m. and Sat., June 22, 10 a.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: \$4. for 18 sessions, 25 cents per session. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information or to enroll call (213) 483-1512 or 483-2581.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

PROTECTIVE LAWS & EQUAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN. Speaker: Ann Wilcox, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 21, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

NEW YORK CITY

THE 1974 SAN FRANCISCO CITY STRIKES—THEIR MEANING FOR TODAY'S LABOR STRUGGLES. Speaker: Jeff Maddler, vice-president, Hayward local, American Federation of Teachers. Weds., June 26, 8 p.m. New York Univ. Sommerville Theatre, Rm. 216, Main Bldg. Donation: \$1. Ausp: New York City Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

PHILADELPHIA

ELECTION LAW REFORM: THE MYTH OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. Speakers: Duncan Williams, treasurer, Socialist Workers Party 1974 Pennsylvania Campaign; representative from Common Cause; Max Weiner, Consumer Party; others. Fri., June 21, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market). Donation: \$1.

Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

PITTSBURGH

THE MIDDLE EAST: WHY PEACE WILL NOT LAST. Speakers to be announced. Fri., June 21, 8 p.m. 304 S. Bouquet St. (in Oakland). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

SEATTLE

REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL AND ITS AFRICAN COLONIES. Speaker: Karl Foreman, organizer, Bellingham Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., June 21, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SERIES. Black liberation and socialism. Thurs., June 20, 7:30 p.m.: A strategy for the Black Struggle today; Mon., June 24, 7:30 p.m.: Where the Communist Party goes wrong on the Black struggle. 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor. Donation: \$6 for entire summer series; \$3 per course; 50 cents per individual class. Ausp: Socialist Workers campaign committee. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

... 'reforms'

Continued from page 15

zations," he said.

Explaining the ACLU's position on the campaign finance laws, Gora said that his organization "has no quarrel with reforms of the political process which will make that process responsible to the will of the people. We support such reforms. But we are concerned when such reforms are sought to be achieved through laws and mechanism which infringe upon established civil-liberties rights.

"For example, laws that curtail freedom of speech and freedom of expression with regard to political issues; laws that burden and restrict minority parties—which have traditionally played a vital role in the American political scene; and laws that breach the established right of political anonymity."

"We think reform is important," summed up Gora, "but not at the expense of other constitutional values, and that's why we are involved in this proceeding."

A number of statements backing the challenge were released at the news conference.

Rexford Weng, vice-president of the Massachusetts state AFL-CIO executive board, issued a statement in support "both as a trade unionist and

as a supporter of the SWP campaign." Weng's statement pointed out that the law restricts the level of involvement of trade unions in the political arena, which, he said, "would be sufficient reason to oppose it.

"But in addition to that, the act serves as a two-edged sword to be wielded against any radical or socialist alternative in the electoral field."

Other support statements were released from Philip Berrigan, Congressman Ron Dellums (D-Calif.), Eugene McCarthy, Syd Stapleton of the Political Rights Defense Fund, and Noam Chomsky.

...auto

Continued from page 18

definitely." Many are collecting SUB benefits—those who had a year on the job and who haven't yet been off for more than one year. But the funds are running low and there is danger that many more workers will not collect much, if anything.

In a letter to union members on April 23, UAW Vice-President Irving Bluestone, director of the union's General Motors department, said SUB was never intended to protect against chronic unemployment or the ravages of a planless economy. "The SUB Fund," he wrote, "was designed to meet the normal fluctuations in the economy. It was not designed to meet the crisis of depression-like layoff circumstances such as currently exists in General Motors."

Like other fringe benefits in most union contracts the SUB plan sounded like a good idea as long as it didn't cost the auto corporations very much and wasn't urgently needed by very many union members.

Bluestone recently appeared before the House Ways and Means Committee to urge that federal unemployment benefits be extended for one year to cover all workers. "About 40 percent or two million of the unemployed," he said, "were not covered by the [federal] unemployment insurance system or were not eligible for benefits under its provisions."

His trip to Washington was of little help because he went there to beg for relief from representatives of the very corporations that are quick to

send out those letters that say, "Sorry, no more funds. . . ."

The truth is that the corporations and the federal government have plenty of funds—all there are. So this is where the unemployed must look for the full wages needed to keep them going until new jobs turn up.

There is no doubt that between them, the government and the corporations could find all the money necessary to pay full unemployment compensation.

Bluestone told the members of Congress that "there is every indication that the employment picture will get worse before it gets better." He was right about that. But he will first learn how bad it is when auto workers demand jobs and pay in these "depression-like layoff circumstances."

The 30-hour workweek would provide a lot of jobs for the millions who are out of work. A fight by the UAW and other unions for this demand, scuttled 20 years ago, is long overdue.

...S.F.

Continued from page 28

capitalists.

"Workers must depend upon our own organized power, mobilized in massive independent and unified labor action.

"In March, city workers showed that they have the power to shut this city down. If city workers have that power, then certainly the labor movement has the power to elect our own labor candidates to the board of supervisors and run the city in our own interest.

"A board composed of city workers, longshoremen, Muni [bus and street-car] drivers, carpenters, and other unionists selected and backed by the union movement would never put forward such a charter proposal.

"In the upcoming statewide elections the Democrats and Republicans should likewise be rejected," the statement concluded. "There is a pro-labor alternative. The Socialist Workers Party is running state and local candidates who will be defending the rights of working people and championing the cause of independent labor political action. If you agree with our ideas, support the socialist campaign."

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

Tucson: YSA, S.U.P.O. 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-1512.

Los Angeles, West Side: SWP and YSA, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. Tel: (213) 394-9050.

Los Angeles: City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

Riverside: YSA, c/o University of Calif. Riverside, 1134 Library South, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Glenda Horton, 1253 S. 7th St. #70, San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 292-3289.

Santa Barbara: YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: SWP—(303) 623-2825, YSA—(303) 266-9431.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101. Tel: (203) 523-7582.

New Haven: YSA, c/o Jon Keger, 1563 Chapel St., Apt. 3, New Haven, Conn. 06511.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, Box U-6014, Tallahassee, Fla. 32306.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

HAWAII: Honolulu: YSA, c/o David Hough, 447 Seaside Ave. #186, Honolulu, Hawaii 96815.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—

(312) 939-0737, YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Dave Ellis, 1309 E. Vermont, Indianapolis, Ind. 46202.

IOWA: Iowa City: YSA, c/o IMU, Univ. of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa 52240.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, Dept. of Entomology, Univ. of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans. 66045.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

Louisville: YSA, P.O. Box 8026, Louisville, Ky. 40208.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, 2103 Belair Rd., Baltimore, Md. 21213. Tel: (301) 732-8996.

College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, R.S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers' Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

Worcester: YSA, P.O. Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103 Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 668-6334.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Kalamazoo: YSA, c/o Gail Altengren, 728 S. Burdick St., Apt. 3, Kalamazoo, Mich. 49007.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, P.O. Box 98, Warriner Hall, CMU, Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

St. Cloud: YSA, c/o Atwood Center, St. Cloud State College, St. Cloud, Minn. 56301.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4660 Maryland, Suite 17, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

NEW JERSEY: New Brunswick: YSA, Box 445, Woodbridge, N.J. 07095. Tel: (201) 634-3076.

Paterson: YSA, P.O. Box 1532, Paterson, N.J. 07509.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Spencer Livingston, 169 Quail St., Albany, N.Y. 12203. Tel: (518) 436-0096.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Wiloughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Buffalo: YSA, 236 W. Utica, Buffalo, N.Y. 14222. Tel: (716) 885-8861.

Long Island: YSA, 20 John St., Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (615) FR9-0289.

New Paltz: YSA, c/o Diane Phillips, 36 Plattekill Ave., New Paltz, N.Y. 12561. Tel: (914) 255-1871.

New York City: City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Ossining: YSA, c/o Brian Johnson, 1006 Old Farm Rd., Valhalla, N.Y. 10595. Tel: (914) 592-6864.

Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 2726 Broadway (104th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

NORTH CAROLINA: Charlotte: YSA, c/o Gene Phil-yaw, 1023 Dorm '73 UNCC, Charlotte, N.C. 28213. Tel: (704) 537-3235.

OHIO: Bowling Green: YSA, Box 27, U. Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-9043.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553. YSA—(216) 391-3278.

Columbus: YSA, c/o Margaret Van Epp, 670 Cuya-

hoga Ct., Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 268-7860.

OREGON: Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

Pittsburgh: SWP and YSA, 304 S. Bouquet St., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8476, University Station, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 524-8967.

Memphis: YSA, c/o Maryrose Eannace, 3681 Winchester Pk. Cr. #7, Memphis, Tenn. 38118. Tel: (901) 365-2528.

Nashville: YSA, P.O. Box 67, Station B, Nashville, Tenn. 37235. Tel: (615) 383-2583.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, SWP, Militant Bookstore, Harriet Tubman Hall, 1801 Nueces, Austin, Texas 78701. Tel: (512) 478-8602.

Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: YSA, 546 Blaze Dr., San Antonio, Texas. 78218.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Bellingham: YSA and Young Socialist Books, Rm. 213, Viking Union, Western Washington State College, Bellingham, Wash. 98225. Tel: (206) 676-3460.

Pullman: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, Washington State University, Pullman, Wash. 99163.

Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5623 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 522-7800.

WEST VIRGINIA: Huntington: YSA, c/o Marshall University, Huntington, W. Va. 25701. Tel: (301) 525-6323.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: YSA, c/o University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Union Box 139, Milwaukee, Wis. 53201.

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REVOLUTIONARIES IN MAO'S PRISONS: The Case of the Chinese Trotskyists

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Calif. strawberry pickers fight for union contract

By HOLBROOK MAHN

OXNARD, Calif. — The militant strike here of strawberry pickers, mostly Chicanos, is 80 percent effective, despite police attacks and attempted intimidation. It is estimated that growers are losing hundreds of thousands of dollars because of the walkout.

The strike began May 24 when the entire crew of 80 workers at American Food Company left the fields in protest over low wages and poor working conditions. By June 7, the strike had spread to all 23 of the area's strawberry ranches. At this point in the harvest, 5,000 workers are needed to pick the crops. Only an estimated 750 remain in the fields.

When the first group walked out, they contacted the United Farm Workers (UFW) to help them win a union contract. UFW staff and volunteers are helping on the picket lines and in the strike headquarters.

In a matter of days after the strike began, the picket lines grew to more than 1,000 strikers. The growers responded by obtaining a court injunction limiting picketing to 50 people staying 50 feet apart at each farm.

On May 31 police and deputies arrested 31 people for allegedly violating the injunction. Roberto García, UFW coordinator for the strike, pointed out how blatantly illegal the arrests were. Some of those picked up had just arrived at the picket line and were arrested before they even got out of their cars.

More than 3,000 workers and supporters marched through Oxnard's barrio June 1 to protest the arrests. The police attacks have strengthened the resolve of the strikers to fight until they win a UFW contract. García said that if the growers refuse to sign a contract this year, the UFW will return next season to continue the struggle.

The strike is already pinching the growers' pocketbooks. One grower said that his company lost \$30,000 in just three days.

The harvest is now at a critical point. One or two days of sun can ripen the strawberries, and if they are not then picked immediately, they begin to rot. The mold can rapidly spread to the green berries and wipe out the entire crop.

UFW organizers have found young children being used by the growers to help harvest the scab crop, despite California laws that prohibit this.

On one farm, the UFW talked with an eight-year-old boy working in the fields. He told the union representatives that he worked from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. He lives in the back of a car with his mother, who also works



Striking Oxnard, Calif., strawberry pickers

Militant/Ruthann Miller

in the fields.

The impetus for the strike here came in part from a May 16 victory in Watsonville, Calif. A spontaneous five-day strike there by strawberry pickers forced the American Food Company to sell its strawberry fields to Pik'd Rite, a company that already had a UFW contract. The new contract gave the strawberry workers a 20 percent wage increase, making them the highest paid farm workers in the area.

Word of this victory helped convince strawberry pickers in Oxnard that the way to get decent wages and working conditions was to organize through the UFW.

Under the Watsonville contract, by the end of the season, strawberry pickers will be paid \$1.10 per box of strawberries for the market and \$1.80 per box of strawberries for freezing.

The average Oxnard rate is 80 cents a box for fresh strawberries and \$1.20 a box for freezer strawberries.

The base rate for the UFW pickers is \$2.50 an hour, compared with the \$2.10 an hour Oxnard pickers are supposed to be paid.

García said that one tactic used by Oxnard growers to cheat the workers is to pay only 70 cents of the 80 cents per box, with the remaining dime to be paid at the end of the harvest. The growers claim they do this to keep workers for the whole season. What actually happens, however, is that the workers are laid off before the end of the harvest and have to forfeit the withheld pay.

Oxnard's main crop is lettuce, and UFW organizers here feel that the militant struggle of the strawberry pickers will help in organizing the lettuce workers.

Students, AFT back strike

OXNARD — Chicano students from the Ventura College MECHA and teachers from the local affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) are helping to thwart efforts by the growers to use high school students to break the strawberry strike.

MECHA members and AFT teachers are meeting with groups of high school students to explain the importance of standing in solidarity with the strike.

UFW representative Roberto García said that MECHA and the teachers were winning a favorable response as they talk to students.

Representatives from the UFW are also visiting the homes of non-strikers to discuss the issues involved in the strike and to win them over to the UFW.

SF city workers fight new attack on wages

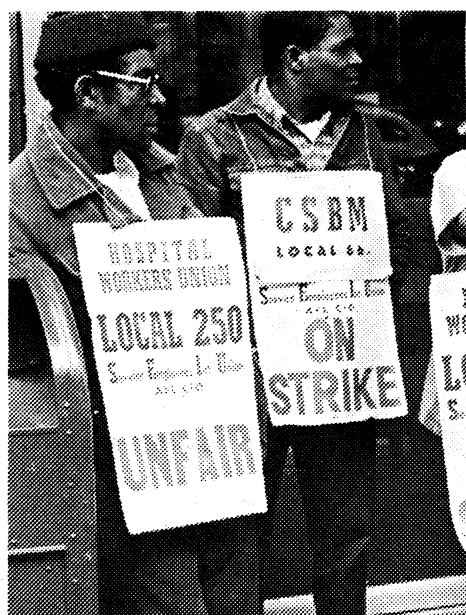
By ROLAND SHEPPARD

SAN FRANCISCO — One thousand city workers demonstrated here June 6 to protest a new attack on their wages and job conditions.

A subcommittee of the San Francisco board of supervisors has proposed an amendment to the city charter to "cut the cost of government."

Under the guise of bringing the wages of city employees into line with "generally prevailing rates," the board seeks to cut back both wages and fringe benefits to the levels of more poorly paid and less well protected workers in private industry, other counties, and other, less unionized cities such as Los Angeles.

The charter amendment is part and parcel of a campaign being waged by the San Francisco chamber of commerce against the labor movement in general and city workers in particular. The amendment would roll back gains



Militant/Harry Ring

San Francisco city workers during strike last March.

won by city workers in their strike last March.

The June 6 action focused on the first public hearing on the charter changes. The enthusiasm and militancy of the rank-and-file workers on the picket line reflected the confidence gained during the successful strike.

The chamber of commerce representative at the hearings threatened to initiate a referendum to change the charter if the board as a whole did not pass the proposed changes.

A statement on the charter amendment was issued June 6 by Nat Weinstein and Jon Olmsted, Socialist Workers Party candidates for U.S. Congress from San Francisco. "The proposed charter amendment is aimed at the very existence of the city employees unions," the socialist candidates said.

"In the course of the city workers strike, real collective bargaining was established in the course of the struggle.

The 'schedule of compensation' established by the board of supervisors in the proposed charter amendment once again throws collective bargaining out the window.

"In this period of increasing inflation and unemployment, what we need is not lower wages and fewer benefits but a full escalator clause to keep up with rising prices and a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to provide jobs for all. All city employees must have the right to strike."

The statement continued: "This latest attack by the board of supervisors confirms once again the lesson that was driven home during the city workers strike: that workers cannot depend upon Democrats and Republicans to represent us. They represent the chamber of commerce of Standard Oil, Bechtel Corporation, Bank of America, Southern Pacific, and other

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